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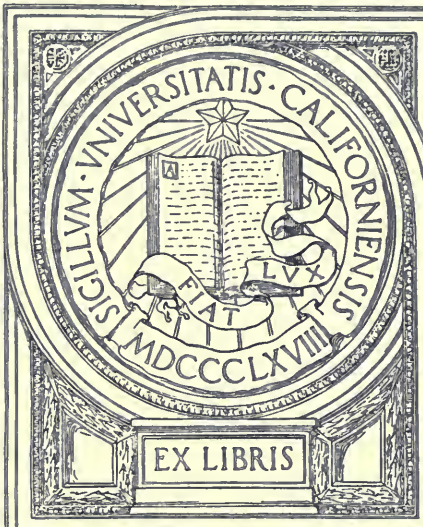

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CORRECTED REPORT,

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CORRECTED REPORT

OF THE

SPEECH

OF THE

RIGHT HON. GEORGE CANNING,

IN

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS,

On TUESDAY, MAY 6th.

ON

MR. LAMBTON'S MOTION,

FOR

A CENSURE

ON

Mr. CANNING'S EMBASSY TO LISBON.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

1817.

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CORRECTED REPORT

OF

MR. CANNING'S SPEECH,

ON

THE MOTION FOR A CENSURE ON HIS EMBASSY TO LISBON.

AFTER the speech of Admiral Sir John Beresford, there was a considerable pause in the House,—Sir Francis Burdett alone having spoken in support of Mr. Lambton's Motion. At length, no other Member offering himself, and the Question being about to be put from the Chair, Mr. Canning rose, and spoke nearly as follows:—

AUG 26 1938

SIR,

UPON a question which, however disguised in form, I cannot but feel, in common with every Member who hears me,—in common with the Hon. Mover of the Resolutions,—and in common with the Hon. Baronet, who has fairly stated the real object in view,—to be an attack directed against me individually, I trust I shall not be considered as having shewn any blameable reluctance in pausing before I offered

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myself to the attention of the House. Sir, I could not bring myself to believe, that, in the two speeches of the Hon. Mover and the Hon. Baronet, I had heard the whole of what is to be alleged against me; and yet I must suppose that, if others intended to add their weight to the accusation,—I must suppose that, in a case in which every thing that is dear to man, in character, in reputation, and in honour, is at stake, they would have had the fairness to give to the accused an advantage which is not withholden from the meanest criminal,—that of hearing the whole indictment to which he is to plead.

If, after a year of menace, and after three months of preparation, from amidst all the array which I see opposed to me, these * are my only accusers; —if the speeches which I have heard, contain the whole of the charges which are to be urged against me,—charges, which those who bring them forward state to be directed to no other object than the public weal,—but which I know, and which they know, to be intended to disqualify me for ever from serving the public with credit to myself or with advantage to the State;—if this be

* Mr. Lambton and Sir Francis Burdett.

all,—it falls indeed far short of the expectations excited by such mighty menace and by such deliberate preparation! But, Sir, if this is *not* all, —if there are Gentlemen, who hold themselves in readiness to aggravate the matter preferred against me,—whose speeches, prepared for the occasion and now throbbing in their breasts, are reserved till I shall be disabled from answering them,— from such I appeal to the candour of the House and of the world; declaring, and desiring it to be understood, both within and without the walls of this House, that if I do not refute what they may hereafter advance against me, it will be only because I am precluded by the forms of the House from speaking a second time. *(Cries of No, No, from the Opposition.)* O, Sir, I am not to be told that the Motion consists of a string of Resolutions —that each Resolution is a separate question— and that upon each separate question I *may* speak:—but neither are my accusers to be told that this is technical nonsense;—that the effective debate must take place upon the first Resolution,—and that the question upon that Resolution once put to the vote, I should be heard upon those which follow, to very little purpose indeed.

I agree with the Hon. Baronet, that I have often deplored and deprecated,—and, in spite of the Hon. Baronet's warning, I shall continue (not for myself but for the public good) to deprecate and to deplore—the practice of calumniating public men on either side of this House, by imputing to them motives of action, the insinuation of which would not be tolerated in the intercourse of private life. If, indeed, I shall be found to have forfeited all claim to the confidence of the House, the Hon. Baronet needs not fear that I shall again offend him by such unpleasant animadversions. But if, on the other hand, I shall be fortunate enough to make plain to others—that which I myself confidently feel—my perfect clearness from any of the imputations attempted to be thrown upon me, the Hon. Baronet may depend upon hearing from me hereafter the same language which I have used heretofore, on this—and on other subjects still more disagreeable to the Hon. Baronet and his followers.

Sir, the charge which the Hon. Gentleman's Resolutions involve, is this,—That the Government, being perfectly aware that the Prince Regent of

Portugal had no intention of returning to Europe, pretended a belief in such intention, for the express purpose of corruptly offering that Mission which I corruptly accepted. It is true, that a distinction is most disingenuously affected to be drawn between the Government and me; of which it is hardly necessary to say, that I disdain to take advantage. It is pretended, that a charge is brought forward only against the Government for making the offer, but that I might have accepted that offer—if not altogether without blame, at least without absolute criminality. Sir, I disclaim this insidious distinction. I will allow no such exception in my favour. As my Noble Friend has claimed that my case shall be considered as that of the Government,—so do I declare on my part that the case of the Government is mine.

The *first* head of charge, therefore, against the Government and myself is, That there was no belief on the part of the Government, or on mine, that the Prince Regent of Portugal intended to return to Europe: the *second* is, That the Mission sent to receive and congratulate the Prince Regent on his return was on a scale of unnecessary, un-

exampled, profligate prodigality. To both these issues, distinctly, I mean to plead. All that I require of those who are to judge me is, that they will keep these two issues separate in their minds; that they will not confound them, as has been industriously done in the speeches of the Hon. Gent. and the Hon. Bart. If a fraud were purposed—if the Government did not believe in the return of the Royal Family of Portugal—there is crime enough for an impeachment, if you will, without entering into the question of expense. In that case the expense of one farthing was too much. But if, on the contrary, the Government was sincere in its belief of the occasion for the appointment when they made it,—and I, when I accepted it,—then the question of expense is indeed a fair subject of parliamentary jealousy (I am far from denying that it is so); but the amount of that expense must be estimated, with reference to its object,—and not upon the unfair and fallacious assumption that there was no occasion for any expense at all.

As to the first point, if I were pleading for myself alone, all that it would be necessary for

me to do, would be to refer to one only of the papers before the House;—the Extract of Lord Strangford's Despatch to Lord Castlereagh*, dated Rio de Janeiro, June 21st, 1814. It is in these words:—

"The glorious events which have given peace and independence to Europe, have revived in the mind of the Prince of Brazil those eager desires to revisit his native country, which had been for a time suppressed.

"His Royal Highness has done me the honour to state his anxious hope that Great Britain will facilitate the completion of his wishes upon this subject; and that he may return to Portugal under the same protection as that under which he left it."

The Despatch, of which this is an Extract, was, in fact, the only one upon the subject that I happened to see before I went to Portugal.

Before I proceed further, I must here vindicate my Noble Friend the Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, from the allegation of the Hon. Gentleman, that my Noble Friend studiously delayed, or wilfully confounded, the papers moved for by the Hon. Gentleman or his friends.

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* Appendix I, No. 1.

The Hon. Gentleman accuses my Noble Friend of having produced a Despatch, addressed to *me* by Lord Bathurst, (No. 2 of the papers first presented to Parliament*,) instead of the Despatch of my Noble Friend to Mr. Sydenham† of the 18th July,—well knowing that this latter was the paper really moved-for. Now, Sir, I cannot pretend to say in what terms the Motion of the Hon. Gentleman was conceived: I was not in the House (so far as I know) when he made it. The first knowledge that I had of it was from a note of my Noble Friend, inclosing a copy of the Despatch addressed to me by Lord Bathurst;—informing me that this Despatch was to be laid before the House of Commons; and desiring to know, whether there were any papers which I might wish to be produced in order to meet the charge, whatever it might be, which appeared, by the call for this Despatch, to be meditated against me. This was a courtesy which my Noble Friend, or any Minister, would have equally shewn to any other individual menaced with a parliamentary attack; and I only mention it, as affording a

* Appendix I, No. 2.

† Appendix II. No. 2.

strong proof of the sincerity of my Noble Friend's belief that the paper first produced was that which had been moved for by the Hon. Gentleman. Lord Strangford's Despatch being (as I have said) the only document that I happened ever to have seen, relating to the Prince Regent of Portugal's return, it was the only one that occurred to me as at all necessary to illustrate that matter. It was the only one, therefore, of which, with that view, I suggested the production; and, upon looking it over,—as I was extremely desirous to bring forward nothing but what was absolutely necessary,—I thought the two or three sentences, which are given in the *first* set of papers presented to the House, amply sufficient. I knew, indeed, that the Prince Regent of Portugal's intention of returning to Europe had been questioned; but it was not until after the production of these papers that I had any suspicion that it was denied. The Hon. Gentleman now professes that his intention was to move, not for any Despatch to me, but for a Despatch to Mr. Sydenham. It is to be regretted, in that case, that the Honourable Gentleman did not mention Mr. Sydenham's name in his Motion, which would

have obviated any possibility of misapprehension. I am not without my suspicions, indeed, that if in return to the Hon. Gentleman's ambiguous Motion my Noble Friend had laid upon the table the Despatch to Mr. Sydenham, he would then have been accused of keeping back the Despatch to me. In truth, Sir, if the Hon. Gentlemen wanted complete information, their obvious course was to move for *all* Despatches relating to the subject in question, within a certain specified period. But if their object was to feel their way, paper by paper,—in order that they might proceed or not, according as the information obtained by their successive Motions should or should not correspond with the prejudices which they had endeavoured to raise;—why, then, Sir, perhaps they had not gone far in this course of discovery before they repented of having engaged in it.

But to return to the Despatch of Lord Strangford.—The Extract from that Despatch which I have just read, appeared to me quite sufficient to establish the Prince Regent of Portugal's intention.—I confess, indeed, that my belief in

that event rested on authority short even of this Extract. It rested on the authority of a private letter from Lord Liverpool, received by me on the 28th August, at a considerable distance from London; which,—though it is not pleasant to quote in public discussion the contents of private letters,—I will now, (having my Noble Friend's permission,) read to the House. It is dated, London, August 26th, 1814.

—— " Letters have been this day received from Lord " Strangford, by which it appears, that the Prince of " Brazil has intimated his desire to return to Portugal, " (in consequence of the recent events in Europe,) and " the gratification which he would feel at the arrival of " a British squadron at Rio de Janeiro, for the purpose " of conveying the Royal Family to Lisbon.

" Under these circumstances, Melville has given orders " for preparing a proper squadron for this Service,—and " it will sail as soon as the necessary arrangements can be " completed."

This letter, Sir, I received on the 28th of August, at Manchester, in my way from London to a distant part of the country,—from whence I had no thoughts of returning till the middle of September. My Right Hon. Friend,

now sitting near me*, was with me when I received it.—Now, the hypothesis of my accusers is, that the whole notion of the Prince Regent's return was a feint and a fraud on the part of the Government, if not on mine. But, I ask of any candid man, if he can believe,—I ask of any man living, if he will avow the belief,—that supposing a fraud to have been intended, it is likely that such a letter as this from Lord Liverpool, written in the unguarded style of private friendship, and addressed (as any Gentleman who would take the trouble to look at it would see that it is) with the usual formulary of the most familiar correspondence,—should have been one of the documents *got up* for such a purpose? Is it likely, that of two men, known to each other by nearly thirty years of intimacy, one should practise such a delusion upon the other? Or, is it likely that two such men should carry hypocrisy so far as to provide beforehand for the support of a public fraud, by the contrivance of such a private communication?

This letter from Lord Liverpool was founded upon that Despatch from Lord Strangford of which I have already read the Extract, and

* Mr. Huskisson.

which appears at full length in the papers* *last* laid upon the table. The Extract was moved for at my desire,—the Extract only—when I conceived that *my* justification alone was in question: the whole Despatch was afterwards moved for, also at my suggestion,—when I found that the Government were suspected of having deceived *me* into a belief, for which they had no foundation. I will now take the liberty of reading the whole Despatch.

" *Rio de Janeiro, June* 21, 1814.

[*Received August 26th*, 1814.]

" My Lord,

" The glorious events which have given peace and inde-
" pendence to Europe, have revived in the mind of the Prince
" of Brazil those eager desires to revisit his native country,
" which had been for a time suppressed.

" His Royal Highness has lately done me the honour to
" state his anxious hope, that Great Britain will facilitate
" the completion of his wishes upon this subject, and that he
" may return to Portugal under the same protection as that
" under which he left it. And His Royal Highness has,
" during the last week, intimated to me, four or five times,
" as well publicly as privately, that, in case Great Britain
" should send a squadron of ships of war to this place, for

* Appendix III. No. 4.

" the purpose of escorting His Royal Highness to Europe,
" it would be particularly and personally gratifying to His
" Royal Highness that————————————should be
" selected for this service.

" I have the honour to be, &c.

" STRANGFORD."

To Viscount Castlereagh,
&c. &c. &c.

(The name of the officer is omitted from motives of delicacy. Sir John Beresford had been already appointed and announced to the Court of Rio de Janeiro, before this Despatch was received.)

Submit this document to any man in the habit of canvassing evidence, and ask him, whether there is any thing in it that could create a suspicion of the sincerity of the wish which it announces?—whether the Government could reasonably doubt the authenticity of the intelligence conveyed in it, any more than I doubted the fidelity of the abstract of that intelligence transmitted to me by Lord Liverpool?—A man might say, that he intended to go a journey,—and the fact of his entertaining that intention might, perhaps, not be considered as altogether established by the mere intimation of it: but, when he ordered his carriage to the door, and

named the servants by whom he wished to be conducted, then, surely, one would consider him to be really in earnest.

This Despatch, however, I did not see till after my return to London in September. I was quite satisfied of the fact, as stated to me by Lord Liverpool. Nothing is more easy than, when an event has, or has not, actually taken place, to find out that you ought to have foreseen how likely, or to have discovered how unlikely, it was to happen. But who balances probabilities in this way, in the ordinary transactions of life? Who is the wise and happy man that receives every friendly communication with distrust; that calls for proofs of the most credible expectancies, and deems every occurrence problematical till it has actually occurred?—The Prince Regent of Portugal announced to the British Cabinet his intention of returning; he requested that a squadron might be sent to escort him to Europe; he named the officer by whom he wished that squadron to be commanded:—yet Ministers were to suspect that he entertained no intention of the kind!—For myself, I protest, that no shadow of doubt ever crossed my mind, as to the reality of this intention. Perhaps it may have been

rash to believe: if so, I must acknowledge my error. But when, in addition to such positive testimony, I considered how desirable it was, with a view to the interests of the Portuguese Monarchy, of this Country, and of the world,—how essential to the complete restoration and tranquillity of that order of things which the French Revolution had disjointed and broken up,—that Portugal, now sunk into a province, should resume her station among the States of Europe;—when I felt that no efforts of the British Government *ought* to have been spared, and had reason to be assured that none *had* been spared, to induce that return,—I confess I know not on what I could have founded the smallest doubt that the return of the Court of Portugal was really determined upon, and that this determination was upon the eve of execution.

It may be true, that there were, as has been asserted, at the precise period to which I am alluding, conflicting reports on this subject;—that merchants in Lisbon had received letters from their friends in Brazil, contradicting the opinion that the Prince Regent would return;—that there were rumours of opposition

to the measure in the Councils of Rio de Janeiro; and that persons, supposed to have access to correct intelligence, avowed the conviction that the Court would remain in South America. If there were such reports, I knew nothing of them. But I fairly own that had they come distinctly to my knowledge, had I even been consulted as to the weight to be allowed to them, I should have considered the British Minister's testimony as outweighing them all. I will tell the House why the testimony of Lord Strangford would have had so powerful a weight with me on this subject. In 1807, at the time when the Court of Portugal emigrated to the Brazils, I had the honour to fill the office now filled by my Noble Friend.* When the first intelligence of the intended emigration reached this Country, there was then, also, an abundance of conflicting and contradictory reports; and I believe I may say that for several days I alone, in London,—alone perhaps among my colleagues, —was persuaded of the existence of that intention. At that time, I knew nothing of Lord Strangford, except from his official correspondence: but that correspondence had inspired me

* Lord Castlereagh.

with a full reliance upon the authenticity of his sources of information, and upon his knowledge of the Prince Regent's mind; and Lord Strangford all along affirmed, that the Prince Regent intended to emigrate. The general persuasion at Lisbon was that the Court would *not* emigrate; even up to the very day, when,—as Lord Strangford had predicted,—the Prince actually embarked in the Tagus, and set sail for Brazil.

My belief therefore in the present instance was founded, first on positive information,—secondly, on the obvious desirableness of the return of the Prince Regent to Europe, and on the certainty that this Country must have used all means of counsel and persuasion to ensure that event. I was persuaded both of the reality of the intention, and of the probability of its instant execution. Nothing, absolutely nothing, had come to my knowledge that could excite a reasonable distrust. But even had such distrust been excited in my mind by any rumour, or any testimony less than official, it would have been dispelled by the assurances of Lord Strangford. Such was my belief, my credulity, if you will —but a credulity of which I have assigned the

grounds,—a credulity which was assuredly not so fatuitous as to be fairly construed into crime.

I must, however, beg not to have it understood that my belief in the return of the Prince Regent at once determined my acceptance of the Mission;—though it might have done so, for aught that I can see, without blame. Undoubtedly no earthly consideration would have induced me to accept it *without* an assurance as to that return: but it required a combination of other circumstances, with which I need not trouble the House, to induce me to go in an official character to Lisbon; and in fact my acceptance was not determined till after my return to town, late in September.

The Government had stronger grounds for their belief than I had. They had before them the communications contained, or referred to, in the Papers *last* submitted to the House:—letters, namely, from Lord Strangford, of so early a date as February—and the autograph letter of the Prince Regent of Portugal* to the Prince Regent of Great Britain, dated the 2d of April. Of these I knew nothing till the other day, when the Hon. Gentleman's inquiries and

* Appendix III. No. 3.

denunciations led to an examination of the correspondence in the Foreign Office. This autograph letter disproves the notion of the Hon. Gentleman, that there was an interval between the month of February and the month of August in the communications respecting the Prince Regent's intended return. This letter fills up the supposed chasm in the correspondence. The reason why a copy of this document has not been laid before the House is, that—as many Gentlemen who hear me must know—it is contrary to the etiquette observed towards Sovereign Princes so to make their letters public. The practice is for the Secretary of State to refer to the substance of such Letters in an official Despatch accompanying them, or acknowledging their receipt: and such a record of the letter in question is to be found in the Despatch* from the Secretary of State to Lord Strangford, of the 25th July. In that Despatch, this autograph letter is noticed as stating that the Prince Regent of Portugal only waited for intelligence of the final success of the Allies, in order to determine his return to Europe.

But all this evidence, all this testimony, is, it seems, to be considered as fallacious, if not abso-

* Appendix III, No. 3

lutely false, because there is a solemn, indubitable, irrefragable witness at variance with it—a paragraph in a newspaper of the 29th of July, which announced my actual appointment as Ambassador to Portugal!—An appointment of the 29th of July could not be in consequence of information received on the 26th of August.—Clearly.—But events might be contemplated as probable before the 29th of July, which intelligence of the 26th of August might confirm: and a speculation might be founded upon those probabilities, contingent upon their fulfilment or non-fulfilment.—I do not affirm that some such speculation, founded on some such possible contingency, but absolutely dependent for its realization on the happening or not happening of that contingency, might not be afloat before the 29th of July. The Despatch, of the 25th of July, (of which, however, any more than of the autograph letter alluded to in it, I had not any distinct knowledge till it was brought into notice the other day in consequence of the Hon. Gentleman's inquiries,)—the date, I say, of this Despatch renders it not improbable that it may have been about that time that a Mission to Portugal began to be

contemplated as probable. But that I was at that time, or near that time appointed,—that I then accepted such appointment, if offered to me,—or that it could then have been offered to me, if I had been willing to accept it,—I utterly deny. I deny *here,* Sir, in your presence, and in the presence of my country, that which has been assumed as established because I did not deny it when asserted in a newspaper.—Sir, I value as much as any man the liberty of the Press; I acknowledge its utility—I bow to its power;—in common with all public men, I listen to its suggestions, and receive its chastisements, with all due humility and thankfulness:—but I will not plead at its bar!---I will continue to treat with scorn the attacks of anonymous malice. I disdain to make any answer to such charges, whilst there is a House of Commons before which I can vindicate my character. This is the place where it is my right as well my duty to plead, before a competent tribunal, and in the face of known and accountable accusers. And in behalf of all that is sacred and decent in private life, as well as in behalf of the honour of public men, I protest against the inference—that he is to be held guilty of a charge,

who resolutely declines to answer it at the bar of the daily Press.

But the newspaper had, it seems, announced not only that I was appointed Ambassador to Lisbon,—but that my Right Hon. Friend near me* was appointed Surveyor of the Woods and Forests, and my Right Hon. Friend† at the end of the bench, Master of the Mint;—both which nominations were immediately verified. It is very true that the latter Office was shortly afterwards filled by my Right Hon. Friend†, who has discharged the duties of it with so much honour to himself, and advantage to the public: but I disclaim in the most peremptory terms any merit or influence of mine in that appointment. My Right Hon. Friend * near me, was, it is also true, appointed to the Office of Surveyor of Woods,—and undoubtedly not without my intervention. On the 30th of July I think it was that I moved the new Writ for my Right Hon. Friend. I moved that Writ for the express purpose of shewing that I approved, and was party to, the accession of my Right Hon. Friend, and of other friends of mine, to the Administration. And had I myself accepted

* Mr. Huskisson. † Mr. W. W. Pole.

Office at that time I should have been equally ready, nay anxious to avow it. At different periods of my political life, I have held, I have resigned, I have refused, and I have accepted Office. And there is no occasion on which I have taken either of these courses, on which I am not perfectly prepared to vindicate (I will not say always the prudence, but I will say confidently) the purity and honourableness of my conduct.

I know, Sir, how difficult it is to speak plainly on subjects of this nature, without transgressing the decorum, if not the strict order, of our debates. But is it brought as an accusation against me, that, having no difference of opinion with the Administration, I did not neglect an opportunity which presented itself of furnishing an accession of strength to that Administration, which I wished to strengthen and uphold? Why ought I I to have declined this? And by whom am I accused for not declining it?—By those who consider the principle of Party as a virtue,—as a badge of distinction, and a pledge of purity,—when predicated of themselves; but who are intolerant of any Party, presuming to connect itself together, except under their banners. And, what is the bond

of Party? what are the boasted ties that connect the Hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House with each other?—Fidelity in private friendship, as well as consistency in public principle. Their theory of Party is a theory which they would confine exclusively to their own practice. One may become a satellite in their system, and welcome;—but any eccentric planet, moving in another system, they view with jealous yet with scornful eyes, and denounce its course as baleful and destructive. To this exclusive doctrine I have never subscribed. To these pretensions I have never listened with submission. I have never deemed it reasonable that any confederacy of great names should monopolise to themselves the whole patronage and authority of the State;—should constitute themselves, as it were, into a corporation—a bank for circulating the favours of the Crown and the suffrages of the People, and distributing them only to their own adherents. I cannot consent that the administration of the Government of this free and enlightened country shall be considered as rightfully belonging to any peculiar circle of public men however powerful, or of families however preponderant; and though I can-

not stand lower in the estimation of the Hon. Baronet than I do in my own, as to my own pretensions, I will (to use the language of a Statesman so eminent that I cannot presume to quote his words without an apology,) I will, as long as I have the faculty to think and act for myself, "look those "proud combinations in the face."—I plead guilty, then, to the charge—if it be one—of having treated with an Administration, with the principles of which I perfectly agreed. I plead guilty to the charge—if it be one—of having on this, aye, and on other occasions, postponed my own interest to that of my friends. If, indeed, the charge could be turned the other way,—if occupied exclusively with any personal objects of my own, it could be said that I had neglected the claims, the interests, or the feelings of any individual connected with me in political life,—I should indeed hear that charge with sensations very different from those which I now experience: then, indeed, should I hide my head with shame.

When I moved the Writ of my Right Honourable Friend, on the 30th of July, I declare, upon my honour, that I thought it very doubtful whether I should myself have any official connection what-

ever with the Government. I do not mean to say, that the question had not been mooted, as to my undertaking the Mission to Portugal, if it should turn out that such a Mission was to be sent. But many circumstances might have prevented the result that did afterwards happen. I was not pledged—I was very far from having made up my own mind—to accept the Mission if it should be offered to me; nor had the Government as yet any assurance that they should have it to offer. I had previously made arrangements of my own. My plans were to go where I did go, but from different motives and with a different object. What that object and those motives were, I am not called upon, nor do I think it necessary, to state in this place. It is sufficient for me to say that I was master of my own actions, and that I chose to go. My intention was known to my private friends, and had been communicated to my constituents two months before the close of the Session.

The first official tender of the Mission was made to me by my Noble Friend, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, I think about the end of the first week of August:—I cannot be posi-

tive as to the day; but I recollect perfectly that I had but two interviews with my Noble Friend upon the subject, within a few days of each other,—and that at the date of one of those interviews Mr. Sydenham had arrived in England. He arrived on or about the 8th of August. My Noble Friendwas then on the eve of his departure for Vienna. His tender to me was altogether contingent and conditional. The way in which the matter was left, was this; that if the certainty of the Prince Regent of Portugal's immediate return should be established, I should hear from him (or, in his absence, from Lord Liverpool) again. I did hear again, in the manner that I have stated: but, in proof that I had not, in the mean time, acted on the presumption that I should go out in an official character, I can appeal to some of the Members of the Board of Admiralty who sit near me, that I was so late as in the month of September a supplicant at the Admiralty, as a private person, for a ship to convey me and my family to Lisbon; and when I arrived in Portugal, I found a house provided for me, as a private person, through the kindness of a friend,—a house in the neighbourhood of Lisbon,

which, in my official character, I could not occupy.

But all this, it may be said, was but contrivance, —an artificial chain of circumstances forged and linked together, with a view to the present discussion.—Has such an imputation the colour of probability?—What I have now stated both as to facts and motives is the truth. If any man shall contradict this statement, I can only say that he will affirm that which is not true. Where a matter rests—and from its nature must rest solely —on the consciousness of an individual, there is no other answer (that I know of) to be given to an arbitrary contradiction. I speak this, I hope, without offence. But, on this part of my case, I know of no other possible answer.

I did believe then in the intention of the Prince Regent to return. The Government believed in it. Their belief would have been ground enough for mine. But I have shewn that they had good grounds for their belief. Further, it appears, from what has been stated by the Gallant Admiral behind me,* in anticipation of a question which I might perhaps have taken the liberty to put to him, that not only had the

* Sir John Beresford.

Royal Family really entertained that intention, but that the disposition to carry it into execution survived the report of its abandonment;—that he was repeatedly requested by the Prince Regent of Portugal to defer his departure from Rio de Janeiro from time to time, in hopes that the next arrivals from Europe might bring intelligence decisive of the voyage;—and that it was not until the beginning of April that those hopes were finally relinquished, and the Gallant Admiral permitted to take his leave.

Contrary and contradictory rumours did, no doubt, continue to prevail on this subject, in London, as they certainly did in Lisbon. Even when I received at Lisbon in the beginning of April 1815 the first intimation from England on which I founded my resignation, I was in possession of most positive assurances the other way; and on the very day on which I sent off my resignation, I had heard through what I might have considered as authentic channels, that the Prince would certainly embark. The day was specified on which the embarkation was to take place; and we were to look for the first news of that

event in the arrival of the Squadron off the Bar. But did I act on this information? Did I endeavour to shake any credit which the Government at home might be disposed to give to their accounts from Rio de Janeiro? Did I contrast the rumours of Lisbon with the rumours of London, for the purpose of clinging to my Office? No.—It appears, from the papers on the table, that upon the *29th of March the information of the Prince Regent's abandonment of his design was received here in an official shape. Probably this official information must have been preceded some days by private intelligence. The intimation which reached me on the 9th of April certainly was not official; I did not wait however for its official confirmation: on the 10th of April, I wrote and sent off by an express packet the following †Despatch to the Foreign Office:

"By the mails which came in yester-
"day, I learn, (though not officially,) that the accounts
"received in England from Rio de Janeiro, since Admiral
"Sir John Beresford's arrival there, create a doubt of the

* Appendix III. No. 7.
† Appendix I. No. 3

" Prince Regent of Portugal's present intention to return to " his European dominions.

" Nothing has been received here from the Brazils, which " indicates any such change in His Royal Highness's in- " tention. But should any impediments have been inter- " posed to delay the execution of it, until the intelligence of " the late astonishing and afflicting revolution in the state " of Europe shall reach Rio de Janeiro, it is possible that " the receipt of that intelligence may determine His Royal " Highness to remain there for the present.

" In that case, or in the event of your Lordship's receiv- " ing such positive accounts, as satisfy your Lordship's mind " that such a determination has been taken by the Prince " Regent of Portugal, I have to request your Lordship, to " lay at the feet of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent " my humble resignation of the commission with which He " was graciously pleased to honour me, in contemplation of " the Prince Regent of Portugal's return."

So much for the first head of the charge against me, and against the Government. I have shewn, I hope to the satisfaction of the House, that we did believe in the return of the Court of Portugal to Europe;—that we had good grounds for that belief;—and that, upon that belief exclusively, any Mission to Lisbon was founded.

Remains to be considered, whether upon that ground, *such* a Mission was necessary or justifiable. And this question again divides itself into two heads;—first, whether necessary at all; secondly, (if admitted to be necessary), whether conducted on a scale of disproportionate expense,—disproportionate either to the unavoidable expenditure of the Mission, or to its political importance.

In the first of these questions—Was an Embassy to Lisbon necessary, in the event of the Prince Regent's return?—is involved another more personal question, from which I must not shrink:—namely—Was there any unfitness in the offer of that Mission to *me*, or in *my* acceptance of it?—I feel all the difficulty of arguing this point in a manner at once satisfactory to the House and not unjust to myself. It is distasteful and revolting to one's feelings to be obliged to speak of one's-self, and of one's own fitness for any situation, or any undertaking. But it will be remembered, that I am upon my trial,—that I am defending myself against a criminal charge;—and if in such a defence something like egotism should be unavoidable, I hope the House will have the goodness to excuse it.

Sir, to place this question in its true point of view, I must once more go back to the year 1807. I have said that when in that year the Royal Family of Portugal adopted the resolution of emigrating to the Brazils, I had the honour to hold the seals of the Foreign Office. I had thus an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the wishes of the Prince Regent of Portugal in favour of Lord Strangford, who had been employed to advise and to urge that splendid and magnanimous emigration. It was my duty to report these wishes, and to recommend the services of Lord Strangford to the consideration of my Royal Master. The result was that his Lordship was appointed Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary; was invested with a red ribbon; and might also have received an advance in the Peerage—which (for reasons nothing to the purpose of this night's discussion) he declined. There was, however, another point respecting which the Court of Portugal was extremely solicitous,—a reciprocation of Missions of the highest rank: and this point, from the period of which I am speaking to the last moment at which I held the Seals of Office, the Portuguese Minister

never lost an opportunity of pressing upon my attention. It has been said, by shrewd observers of domestic politics, that when once a Coronet gets into a man's head there is no driving it out again ; and I believe it may be as justly said, that when once a Court takes up the notion of reciprocation of Embassies it is no easy matter to get the better of it. Such a notion reproduces itself on every occasion. A Secretary of State is sure to be assailed with repeated solicitation till the favourite measure is accomplished.

To this application I at that time did not listen. And I believe I reconciled the Court of Portugal to the refusal of it, by shewing that it could not then be granted in the person of Lord Strangford; whose diplomatic standing would not admit of such an advancement,—having been already so recently raised from the station of Chargé d'Affaires. I promised, however, that on the occurrence of any signal event which might constitute a proper occasion for an Embassy, (and the two possible events in contemplation were either the final establishment of the Portuguese Court at the Brazils,—should the cause of Europe

be lost—or,—what was then a distant, though never with me a hopeless prospect—its restoration to Europe on a successful termination of the war,) I would recommend to my Sovereign,—should I be then in office,—a compliance with the wishes of the Court of Portugal.

Long after I quitted office, and more than once or twice, or three times, I was appealed to for the truth of the assertion, that such a promise had been given;—not that any engagement of mine could be binding on my successors. At last—I believe in 1811—without waiting for these long-coming events, the Portuguese Minister here assumed the character of Ambassador. The reciprocation was declined. Much discussion, it seems, followed during the three succeeding years upon the refusal to name an Ambassador at the Court of Brazil: and I perfectly remember, that in one of the conversations which I had with my Noble Friend the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, he reminded me of the circumstances which I have here recapitulated, and observed "We shall, besides, thus "have the long-disputed point of a reciproca-

" tion of Embassies settled, and your pledge to " the Court of Portugal redeemed in your own " person."

If it is supposed by Hon. Gentlemen, that the aggregate allowances of the Mission were necessarily increased by giving the name and rank of Ambassador, instead of that of Envoy Extraordinary, to my appointment, I assure them they are mistaken. —The question of expense I reserve for separate consideration; but as it here mixes itself with the question of the rank of the Mission, I am compelled shortly to advert to it, a little before its time. There are, (or were before the regulation of 1815) two different scales of Ambassadorial allowances; the higher scale with a salary of 11,000*l.* a year, and the other, on what is called the *old* salary of 8,200*l.* The difference between these two salaries is nearly the same as the difference between the lower of them and that of an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary,—which is 5,200*l.* Now, Sir, a man who coveted an Embassy for the sake of emolument would hardly fail, once Ambassador, to choose the higher scale of salary. I chose the lower. But I do not claim any merit from this preference. For as neither 5,200*l.*, (the

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salary of Envoy Extraordinary,) nor 8,200*l.* (the salary of Ambassador on the old scale,) nor even the higher salary of 11,000*l.* reduced by deductions at home and abroad, was expected to cover all the expenses of the Mission, without an addition of Extraordinaries (as I shall presently shew) it became indifferent in *that* point of view, what should be the nominal rank of the Mission.

But it was not indifferent in *other* respects. I flatter myself, that I shall not be suspected of the idle and stupid vanity of caring under what name I did the public business. I believe, however, that it will be generally acknowledged, that having once—with however little pretension to so high a station—filled that Office which presides over the Diplomacy of the Country, I could not consistently assume any other than the highest diplomatic rank,—that which alone represents the Sovereign,--in any Mission on which I should happen to be employed. Much less could I have done so with propriety on a Mission to the Court of Portugal, with which I had, as Secretary of State, engaged for those exertions, and (sanguinely perhaps, but—as it has turned out—safely) anticipated those results, by which that

Court was now enabled, if it so thought fit, to accomplish its return to Europe.

But neither was the question of what might be individually becoming, the whole of this question. The character of Ambassador, though it may make little difference *here*, where every negociation passes through responsible Ministers, is by no means a matter of indifference in many Foreign Courts. The mere question of precedency, trifling as it may seem in itself, is not a thing of no moment, in diplomatic transactions. The facility of access to the person of the Sovereign, without the intervention of a Minister, perhaps hostile to our interests,—and the right of pre-audience of that Sovereign himself,—are advantages of no inconsiderable moment in Courts where the will of the Sovereign is mainly the policy of the State.

But what good did I expect to achieve through these advantages? What was there for me to do? What did I expect to be able to do?—First, it was not for me to judge of my own qualifications; it was for the Government. I might entrench myself behind this answer. But in the spirit in which I am stating my argument, taking the de-

fence of the Government upon myself (as my Noble Friend has taken mine upon the Government) I will not do so. I must again remind the House, that I speak of myself only because I am upon my trial. With the allowance belonging to that consideration I may be permitted to say—I think that there *was* good to be done; and I think that *I* had as fair means, and as probable a chance, as any other man, of doing it.

I pass by many obvious difficulties and embarrassments in the present state of the relations of the Court of Portugal with other Governments in Europe, which might have been avoided had that Court returned. But there is one subject which seems to be comparatively forgotten at this moment, but which, in 1814 (the year of my appointment) was the theme of loud remonstrance and incessant reproach against the Government,---as though they had been indifferent or lukewarm in their exertions upon it,—I mean the Slave Trade. I *did* hope to be able to effect something on this great and interesting subject. I cannot conceive a more favourable opportunity for this purpose than would have been afforded by the return of the Prince Regent to the king-

dom of his ancestors: a kingdom saved, through the blessing of Providence upon the arms and counsels of this Country. Of those counsels I had, from my official situation, been the humble instrument and organ: nor was it perhaps altogether an unreasonable presumption, to hope that the share which I had accidentally had in them might have conciliated, even to so humble an individual as myself, something of kindness from the Sovereign whose crown and whose dominions had been thus preserved and restored to him. I say, therefore, Sir, I cannot conceive circumstances which would have afforded a better chance of making some impression on the mind of a Prince naturally good,—naturally religious,—upon a matter in which his personal character was the best, perhaps the one, hope of success.

I can assure the Hon. Gentlemen, that of the Instructions which I carried out with me, three-fourths were directed to this object. And, besides the instructions of my Noble Friend, the Secretary of State, I had with me ample and most useful suggestions from an Hon. Friend of mine*, (whom I do not now see in his

* Mr. Wilberforce.

place,) which should not have lain idle in my desk. I hoped nothing, indeed, from the "oratory" which the Hon. Baronet is pleased (I suppose ironically) to attribute to me; but much from a good cause in zealous hands. I did believe—I do still believe, that had I had the opportunity of personal intercourse with the Prince, I might have effected some good in this matter; and if it had pleased God that I should succeed in it, I should neither have thought the expences of my Mission ill employed, nor have felt any disparagement to myself in having undertaken it.

So much for the objects in contemplation at the commencement of the Mission. But these objects were not attained.—True. And it is supposed, that not to have attained them was to me matter of great disappointment.—In one sense, undoubtedly it was so. I should have thought the settlement of the question of the Slave Trade with one of the Peninsular Powers, an object of importance not easily to be over-rated.—In another sense, I do assure the Hon. Baronet and the Hon. Gentleman, that I had not experienced one half of the satisfaction in accepting my Office which I felt when I was permitted to resign it.

When, after writing the letter of April the 10th, tendering my resignation, I yielded to the request of my Noble Friend, and consented to remain at my post so long as my services might be thought necessary, I must beg the House to observe, that the whole question of the Mission had assumed an entirely new form. The war had broken out; and if there had not then been a Minister of high diplomatic rank at Lisbon, it would have been absolutely necessary to appoint one. I failed, it is true, in the main object of my negociations during the war,—the obtaining the aid of a corps of Portuguese troops to act with the Allies in Flanders. But why did I fail? Precisely because that state of things existed in Portugal—because that form of Local Government remained there—which it was the interest and the wish of this Country to see altered. I failed because the Sovereign himself was not at Lisbon:---an additional proof, if any had been wanting, of the advisableness of that return which we had endeavoured to invite by every proper inducement,---an additional proof of the inconvenience of leaving one of the kingdoms of Europe with which Great Britain

is most intimately allied,—under a delegated Government; a government incapable, from the very nature of their trust and from the immensity of distance which separates them from their Sovereign, of acting in all cases with the promptness and energy necessary for the glory of the absent Sovereign, and for the welfare of his People.

Sir, I venture to hope that the House will feel that I have satisfactorily disposed of the first part of the question as to the Embassy, and justified the nomination of a Mission of that character, on the supposition (which I had before justified) of the Prince Regent of Portugal's return. I now proceed to the second part of that question,—the expense of the Mission.

If there was no delusion in the cause assigned for the Embassy,—if I have shewn that it was necessary or highly expedient in the case supposed to exist,—it still remains to be inquired, whether or not it was conducted on too costly a scale. I must observe, however, again, that if the belief in the return of the Prince and the expediency of an Embassy to welcome him are not made out, one farthing of expenditure was too much; and if, there-

fore, in the opinion of one honest and impartial man who has heard me, what I have stated appears to be founded in fraud or artifice, the question of pecuniary expense is at an end. On the other hand, if I have been so far successful, I am prepared to challenge a like decision on the issue now to be joined; and to demonstrate that the cost of this Mission was not only not prodigal in proportion to its rank and character, but that it was economical, in comparison with any standard with which it can in fairness be compared.

The Hon. Baronet has quoted a *dictum* of Sir Robert Walpole's, that "every man has his price." I do not think this maxim true, of men;---I do not think it true that even every *thing* has its price. Things must be estimated, not merely by their intrinsic qualities, but by their relative fitness and value. There is no rule for judging absolutely what ought to be the cost of *an* Embassy. There is no forming such an estimate *à priori*. Facts and experience are the only grounds on which you can safely or justly proceed.

I beg Gentlemen then to look at the printed accounts of Missions, in the years 1812, 1813, and 1814; and I ask,---Who could tell, on going to Lis-

bon in the autumn of the latter year, what his expenses were likely to be? Who is there that having before him the expenditure of Sir Charles Stuart, for the years 1812—13, and 1813—14, would have ventured upon such a Mission, without coming to some understanding as to the extent of his expenditure, and as to the principles of its limitation?

I shall perhaps surprise the Hon. Baronet, when I confess that an application on the subject of Extraordinaries was made by me to the Government. But in what sense was this application made? Was it for latitude and indulgence? Was it that I might be put upon the same footing and allowed the same range, as my predecessor?—No, Sir; it was for strictness, for definition, for restraint.—In the beginning of October, I wrote a letter to my Noble Friend, Lord Liverpool, (my Noble Friend* near me was then abroad,) an extract of which, with their permission, I will now read to the House. The House will see that it was of as private and familiar a style, and as little destined for public citation, as that from Lord Liverpool to me which I read to the House a short time ago:

* Lord Castlereagh.

"I have been looking over Stuart's Extraordinaries, and "they really frighten me. It may be very well for him, or "any man not connected with Politics, to draw thus at "discretion;—but it would not do for *me*. For God's "sake, limit me—to what you think right—I can form no "judgment of the matter;—only limit me, so that I may "have no responsibility."

This letter shews at least the *quo animo*,—the disposition—with which I entered upon the subject. Is this the language of rapacity?—Is this a petition for large emolument and unbounded discretion? Or does it not rather indicate a cautious dislike of discretionary power, arising from a dread of responsibility, and an anticipation of injustice?—the former of which I am not ashamed of confessing I did feel;—the latter, I have at this moment, God knows, no reason to disavow.

Sir, in entering upon this most disagreeable discussion—disagreeable, because I must mention the names of honourable men in a way which may be liable to misconstruction,—disagreeable, because I must speak (though but to repel them with scorn) of imputations with which I never thought my own name liable

to be stained,—I beg leave to preface what I have to say, by observing, that the name of Sir Charles Stuart, or of any other person whom I may have occasion to mention in my defence, is brought forward by me most reluctantly. I have no choice. The necessity is forced upon me. The name of Sir Charles Stuart I mention with the respect due to his talents and character. I consider him as one who has rendered eminent services to his Country, and from whom his Country may confidently look for such services hereafter. I believe him to be as free from pecuniary taint,—as I know myself to be.—Large as his expenditure at Lisbon may appear, I am persuaded that it was at once justified and limited by the necessity of the case. It is to be borne in mind also that of the aggregate sums, which appear to have been expended by him, no small proportion was simply and absolutely loss upon the Exchange and upon the conversion of English into Portuguese money. After these declarations, I proceed to state the expenditure of the Lisbon Mission, as it stood in Sir Charles Stuart's time; and the amount of his regular and extraordinary allowances.

For the year, from the 5th of April, 1812, to the 5th of April, 1813, Sir Charles Stuart's Extraordinaries appear to have been £26,807

Salary..... 5,200

Total £32,007

For the next year, from the 5th of April, 1813, to the 5th of April, 1814, the Extraordinaries are stated at..... £26,006

Salary 5,200

Total £31,206

This was the conclusion of Sir Charles Stuart's Mission. These Statements are all before the House. They are to be found in pages 30 and 31 of the Report of the Committee on the Civil List, in June, 1815;—which Report I wish that the Hon. Gentlemen opposite would have the goodness to take into their hands, as I shall have many occasions to refer to it.

Then comes a period which is particularly selected as a contrast to my expenditure;—namely, the half year, beginning the 5th of April, 1814, (the termination of Sir Charles Stuart's Mission,) and ending the 10th of October, 1814, (the com-

mencement of mine). Here my accusers take their grand position. This is the narrow isthmus between two rushing seas of expense, on which they plant their standard of economy!—I do not complain of them for doing so. I do not blame the Hon. Gentleman who brought forward this question, for moving for papers to illustrate this position. But what I do think I have some right to complain of is, that having obtained these documents, they have some how or other totally forgotten to notice their results. When it suited the Hon. Mover's purpose, he asked for the information; and when he got it, and found that it was not precisely what he wanted, it suited his purpose to abstain from any observation upon it. In this respect, he will excuse me if, instead of following his example, I endeavour to supply his omissions.

At Sir Charles Stuart's departure from Lisbon, Mr. Casamajor, the Secretary of Legation, was appointed Chargé d' Affaires, receiving of course the regular salary belonging to these two appointments. As Mr. Casamajor's salary during this half year was nearly the same as his salary of Secretary of Embassy with me, and made but a

trifling part of the expenses of either Mission, I shall not take it into calculation. Not so, however, as to his *Extraordinary* allowances; which during this economical half-year appear by the Civil-List Report, p. 32, as well as by Mr. Sydenham's testimony, to have amounted to upwards of 2,500*l.*

I am not exactly informed at what period between April and July Mr. Sydenham was named Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Local Government of Portugal. The first official Despatch to him that I have seen is dated in July: but his nomination must have preceded that Despatch by some weeks. He had from the 5th of April the same salary as had been enjoyed by Sir Charles Stuart. I speak here of the regular salary of 5,200*l.* a year,—not of Extraordinary allowances. Mr. Sydenham arrived at Lisbon the end of the first week of July. He remained there until the 27th or 28th of that month, when he embarked for England, being obliged to quit his station suddenly on account of his health. These three weeks (or thereabouts) were the whole of Mr. Sydenham's residence at Lisbon; and for these he received (I am

not blaming him, but I state the fact) two Quarters' salary at the rate of 5,200*l.* a year—that is to say £2,600 0 0

he received also, for Outfit, ... 1,500 0 0

he received for his journey to Lisbon 1,100 0 0

and lastly he received (at a subsequent period) for losses occasioned by his sudden relinquishment of the Mission..... 2,000 0 0

In all £ 7,200 0 0

Add to this sum, Mr. Casamajor's Extraordinaries for the same period 2,500 0 0

The result of cost to the public, for the half-year intervening between Sir C. Stuart's Mission and mine, is therefore..... £9,700 0 0

This was the reformed period which is to put all past and future Ministers to shame! This was the rigid scale of economy which I ought to have taken for my guide, and for departing from which I am arraigned before this House and the Country! Yet hear how Mr. Sydenham describes Mr. Casamajor's way of life. "I find," (says Mr.

Sydenham, in his letter* to Mr. Hamilton of the 8th July, written immediately upon his arrival at Lisbon)

" I find that Mr. Casamajor has been living in a very quiet " retired way, with no Suite to feed and lodge; and by the " examination of his books I perceive that he does not live " on less than 100*l.* a week."

Here was no establishment, no representation, no call for display of any kind; and yet the ordinary expenses of Mr. Casamajor's household, were 100*l.* a week, or at the rate of 5,200*l.* a year!

It is true,—at least I have heard and believe,—that during the three weeks that Mr. Sydenham passed at Lisbon he lived in Mr. Casamajor's house. But--as to charge upon the public--Mr. Sydenham was then in the enjoyment of a yearly salary of 5,200*l.* which comes to exactly another 100*l.* a week. So that independently of the *extraordinary* allowances of Mr. Sydenham, for outfit, journey, and losses, the aggregate of the regular Salary received by him, joined to the Extraordinaries allowed to Mr. Casamajor for weekly expenditure,---for *victus* and *convictus*,---during the economical half year, was at the rate of upwards of 10,000*l.* a year.

There is not upon earth a more honourable

* Appendix II, No. 1.

mind than Mr. Casamajor's; and I had myself the opportunity of verifying the statement respecting his expenditure, by the inspection of his Books, at his own particular desire. But I must take the liberty of reminding the House, that from the moment at which I arrived at Lisbon, Mr. Casamajor, then becoming Secretary of Embassy, became part of my family; and as such, lived at my table. From that time therefore *his* expenses (salary excepted) were involved in mine. Why, Sir, if I were to calculate by simple addition, or by the rule of three, I might say, that, according to what I have shewn you,—on Mr. Sydenham's testimony as well as my own—*two* Casamajors ought to have eaten up my whole allowances, ordinary and extraordinary. And, by the way, I *had* two Casamajors—for in addition to the gentleman of whom I have been speaking, and of whom I speak with every feeling of kindness and of respect, another gentleman, Mr. Croft, who was recommended to me by my Noble Friend as Secretary for the Portuguese language, (and who had been with Sir C. Stuart in the same capacity) lived with me as one of my family, during

the whole period of my Mission. I, of course, do not mean seriously to state that the increase of my expenses was in exact proportion to the number of persons whom I had to maintain. But I *do* mean seriously to shew the different footing upon which Mr. Sydenham and Mr. Casamajor *separately*,—or even Mr. Sydenham and Mr. Casamajor *jointly*—stood, in respect to the claims upon *their* expenditure, from that in which I stood,—with all the accessary burdens, and all the unavoidable representation, of an Embassy. With neither of the two gentlemen, whom I had the good fortune to have attached to me,—Mr. Casamajor or Mr. Croft,—had I any personal acquaintance before my Mission began. I learnt, during our official and domestic intercourse, to value and esteem them both. I am sorry to be forced to mention their names in connection with these miserable details; but I am driven to it by the unsparing coarseness of the attacks which have been made upon me, and by the foolish, fallacious, and dishonest contrast of my expenditure with that of Mr. Sydenham:—Mr. Sydenham's, who, during his three weeks' residence at Lisbon, was an inmate in the house of Mr. Casamajor,

—and mine, who, during the whole period of my Mission, had the Suite of an Embassy to maintain!

And now, Sir, come we to the famous letter of letters, upon which it seems that the whole of the case against me is made to turn—the letter* from the Secretary of State to Mr. Sydenham, directing him to confine his expenditure within his regular allowances. Before this letter is made conclusive against *me*, I might perhaps contend that it should be shewn that I was in some degree, if not party to it, cognizant of it. Upon my honour, I never saw it till after the Hon. Gentleman's first notice of his Motion. I cannot say that I had never heard of it. I had heard, or perhaps seen in a newspaper, that some such letter had been written to Mr. Sydenham by my Noble Friend:—and I well remember that the same authority stated the rate of 5,000*l.* a year as that which covered *all* Mr. Sydenham's allowances. I have already shewn the accuracy of *that* statement.

But I wave this plea: I acknowledge the authority of the letter;—and *if* the circumstances of Mr. Sydenham's situation and mine were the same,—and *if* the meaning of this letter

* Appendix II, No. 2.

was what has been attributed to it,—and *if* that meaning was enforced against Mr. Sydenham, or was not remonstrated against by him,—I will admit that notwithstanding my ignorance of the law I was bound by it, and am guilty of not conforming to it.

And, *first*, what was Mr. Sydenham's situation? That of Envoy to the local Government;—mine, that of Ambassador to the Sovereign. (With the propriety of the appointment we have in this part of the argument nothing to do). *Secondly*, What was the meaning of the letter?—My Noble Friend, the writer of it, has told you, that it did *not* mean the absolute exclusion of Extraordinaries, which he held to be almost impossible; but it *did* mean to prescribe the discontinuance of that rate of expenditure which had brought, during the war, such heavy charge upon the public. The letter itself says,

"I cannot anticipate any public grounds for continuing "the expenditure of his Majesty's servants at Lisbon, *on* "*the scale on which it has been conducted during the con-* "*tinuance of the War in the Peninsula.*"

—To be sure he could not. Who dreamt of an

expenditure of upwards of 30,000*l.* a year in time of peace?—*Lastly,* the instructions which were given, were they executed? Did Mr. Sydenham think it practicable to conform to them? Did he receive them without a remonstrance, and act up to them with strictness and fidelity?—With fidelity, in the moral sense of the word, I have no doubt he would have acted up to them if he had remained at Lisbon; but have we no positive proof that he regarded the literal execution of them as impossible?

And here, Sir, again I feel myself called upon to guard against being supposed to mean any thing unkind in the reference which I am compelled to make to Mr. Sydenham. That Gentleman is no more! He has closed a distinguished and honourable life, during which he endeared himself to his friends, and has left behind him an unspotted character. I implore of those who hear me, that if a word should escape me in the heat of argument, which can be thought to bear any colour of disrespect to Mr. Sydenham's memory, they will believe it to be wholly unintentional. I am the last man living who would wantonly throw a slur upon his reputation, or

give a wound to the feelings of those who mourn his loss. I would most gladly have avoided any allusion to him: but his name has been made the vehicle for a foul calumny against my character; and the House will feel that not to me who repel an attack, but to those who have misused Mr. Sydenham's name for the purposes of attack upon me, is to be imputed the guilt of profaning (if it be profaned) the sanctity of the tomb.

The fact is, that while the mandate to Mr. Sydenham, directing him to confine his expenses within certain limits, was traversing the ocean in one direction, a remonstrance by anticipation against such a limitation was on its passage to the Foreign Office. Mr. Sydenham, I suppose, might have heard rumours of such intended restriction; he knew, from what he saw of Lisbon himself (in the amount of Mr. Casamajor's weekly bills), and from what he had heard of it from others, that a literal compliance with that restriction was impracticable; and, on the 8th of July, the very day (I believe) after his arrival at Lisbon, he thus addressed himself to Mr. Hamilton, the Under Secretary of State, (for the in-

formation of my Noble Friend,) in the letter from which I have already quoted an extract:—

"While the Duke of Wellington was at Madrid, he spoke "to me on the subject of my Allowances at Lisbon, and he "gave me the comfortable assurance of my being ruined, "unless Government allowed me something more than the "usual salary, diminished by the usual deductions in Eng- "land, and the loss of Exchange. He promised to mention "the subject to Lord Castlereagh; and I have written to "him to remind him of his promise.—I find that Mr. Casa- "major has been living in a very quiet, retired way, with no "Suite to feed and lodge, and by the examination of his "books, I perceive that he does not live on less than 100*l.* "a week."

So far is printed*. Further on, in the same letter, the Extract of which now lies before me, he states that he "shall live with the greatest possible economy, but that what he cannot pay out of his allowances he shall trust to the Government to pay for him."

Mr. Sydenham, as I have before observed, resided about three weeks in Lisbon, namely, from about the 7th or 8th to the 27th or 28th of July. I have already stated the allowances, regular and extraordinary, which he

* Appendix, II. No. 1.

received during that period or on account of it---viz. 2600*l.* Salary, 1500*l.* Outfit, 1100*l.* for the journey from Paris and Madrid to Lisbon.—All these sums are in the printed accounts of the Civil List Report; and therefore Gentlemen might have known them without moving for papers: but I was not aware,—and I suppose they were not aware, till in an evil hour they brought it out by their own motion for papers,—of the sum of 2000*l.* for losses, which makes up the aggregate of Mr. Sydenham's receipts on account of his half-year's Mission, to 7,200*l.*

If it is said, that as this sum of 7,200*l.* includes Outfit, and Allowances for journey and for losses, it is not fairly to be stated as Mr. Sydenham's expenditure for *half a year*, I readily admit that it is not so: but then I must observe, that, on the same ground the aggregate of *my* allowances cannot be fairly stated as the expenditure of *a year*. The cost of Outfit and Plate in *my* case would not have been repeated another year; any more than that of Outfit, and Allowances for journey and for losses would, in Mr. Sydenham's case, have been repeated in another *half* year. But it *is* quite fair—it is indeed absolutely necessary, since the contrast

between Mr. Sydenham's half year and my year, has been so much insisted on,—to state, as I have done, Mr. Sydenham's *Salary* joined to Mr. Casamajor's *Extraordinaries* for the *same half year*, as constituting the expenditure of *the Mission* for that period. And it *is* fair to state *the whole* of Mr. Sydenham's receipts joined to Mr. Casamajor's *Extraordinaries*, as the aggregate expense of that half year with which the aggregate of my receipts for a whole year is to be compared.

Whatever comments, therefore, Gentlemen may think proper to make on my conduct in other respects, they will at least, I think, abandon the contrast between Mr. Sydenham's Mission and mine as to the rate of their respective cost to the public. This point, on which they relied so confidently, completely fails them. They may, if they will, continue to arraign my political sins; but, if comparison with the period of Mr. Sydenham's Mission be a decisive test of economy, they must on that comparison absolve me from pecuniary transgression.

But, Sir, it is not on pecuniary matters only that they have guessed wrong as to me and Mr. Sydenham. They flattered themselves that

they had another case against me on his account;—a case of hardship,—as if this valuable public servant had been displaced purposely to make way for me. It has been asserted that I superseded Mr. Sydenham. Sir, I did *not* supersede Mr. Sydenham. If the fact were so, I know not that it would constitute any charge against me. It would, I believe, be the first time that the undoubted right of the Crown to appoint and to change its foreign Ministers has been made matter of charge, or even of question, in Parliament. But the fact is not so. Mr. Sydenham's Mission was irretrievably at an end before mine began. He quitted Lisbon not only unrecalled, but without leave. He did this from necessity, on account of the impaired state of his health. He arrived in England (as I have already had occasion to say) on or about the 8th of August. From that day to the 10th of October he received in England his appointments as Minister at Lisbon. Are the economists angry that he did not continue so to receive them longer?—He was neither then, nor at any subsequent period before his death (as I shall presently shew, by a document founded on his own representations) in a state of health to admit of his resuming the

Lisbon Mission—or accepting any other. If he had happily been so, my Noble Friend will bear testimony not only to the fact, but to my knowledge of the fact, that another and more important employment was in contemplation for him.—So much for that charge.

I have in my hand a copy of the letter from the Foreign Office to the Treasury, which authorized the payment to Mr. Sydenham of that sum of 2000*l.* for losses, which forms the last item in his account. I almost wonder, by the bye, that I have not been told in distinct terms that this 2000*l.* was given to Mr. Sydenham to reconcile him to my supersession of him. The House, if they will allow me to take the liberty of reading this Letter to them, will see how that matter stands. I am ready to move for its being laid on the table, if they think it necessary. It is luckily the last document of the kind with which I shall have occasion to try their patience. It is as follows:

" *Foreign Office, Oct. 25,* 1815.

" My Lords,

" Thomas Sydenham, Esq. late His Majesty's Envoy " Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court " of Lisbon, has represented to me the very great expense

" he was at in making preparations to undertake that Mis-
" sion, with a view to a permanent residence at Lisbon,
" and the great loss he sustained by the sudden disposal of
" his effects, &c. on his *being obliged to relinquish that*
" *Mission, on account of the dangerous state of his health,*
" after a residence of only a few months, whereby he has been
" a loser of considerably more than Two Thousand pounds,
" and is thereby involved in difficulties beyond the reach of
" his private fortune to satisfy.

(There is a slight error of inadvertency here as to the period of Mr. Sydenham's actual residence at Lisbon—which was, as I have shewn, weeks only and not months.—I now come to a passage to which I particularly wish to call the attention of the House.)—

" Having considered this application, it has appeared to
" me, under the peculiar circumstances of the case *(Mr.*
" *Sydenham's state of health still preventing his being em-*
" *ployed in the Diplomatic Service of His Majesty)*, to be
" just and reasonable that Mr. Sydenham should receive a
" compensation on account of these losses.—I am therefore
" to desire your Lordships will be pleased to take the Com-
" mands of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, with re-
" gard to the issue of the sum of Two Thousand Pounds,

"*nett*, to Mr. Sydenham, or his Assigns, as a compensation "for the losses above-stated."

Is this also a sham letter and a concerted fraud? Perhaps the *date* will help us to a solution of this question. It is dated the 25th October, 1815,—that is to say, six months after I had tendered the resignation of my Mission, and three months after my resignation had been accepted—a period therefore when, if Mr. Sydenham's health had been sufficiently restored to enable him to resume his station at Lisbon, there had been for three months no impediment whatever, and for six months no impediment on *my* part, to his resuming it. It was manifestly the hopelessness of his return to public life that weighed with the Foreign Office in writing, this letter; to which I am happy to have had an opportunity of referring, both for the proof which it affords of good-natured and considerate disposition, and the just testimony which it bears to the merits and character of Mr. Sydenham. I had not the honour and the happiness of a personal acquaintance with Mr. Sydenham. I knew

him only by reputation,—by the report of common friends, whose report would of itself have been sufficient to ensure my belief of his good qualities,—and by the exhibition of his talents in that memorable investigation which was carried on in a Committee of this House upon the renewal of the East-India Company's Charter. In the course of that examination the Gentlemen connected with India displayed a degree of ability and information, which perhaps could not have been matched, certainly not excelled, in any other service, or in any other country. Among these very able men Mr. Sydenham stood eminently distinguished,—evincing a capacity for great affairs and a fitness for important employments, such as are rarely to be found even in more practised Statesmen. If, therefore, I have been driven to say any thing of this Gentleman (I hope I have not, I am sure I have not intended it) which may have appeared in any degree disrespectful or disparaging,—if I have been obliged to soil the name of a high-minded and liberal man with money,—the blame (I repeat it) is not with me,—but with those who forced Mr. Sydenham's name into this discussion.

I now, Sir, come to the details of the expendi-

ture of my own Mission, the account of which is among the papers upon the table. The Hon. Gentleman who made the Motion, has had the goodness to compliment me on the minuteness and accuracy of my calculations. I understand the nature of the Hon. Gentleman's compliment; and I see that he has been taught thoroughly to understand the nature of the advantage which he has over me on this day.—Undoubtedly any charge connected with money places the accused in a dilemma of painful difficulty,—a difficulty the more painful in proportion to the consciousness of his innocence, and to the warmth of his indignation. If he contents himself—as is the first natural impulse of every honourable mind—with general and lofty denial, he exposes himself to be triumphed over as having evaded investigation;—and figures are then invoked as the only test of truth. If on the other hand he condescends to detailed arithmetical calculation, he becomes liable to such compliments as those of the Hon. Gentleman; and must feel (as I do now) a certain inevitable degradation in the very process by which he is to be justified.—It is certainly not without such pain that I made up my mind to this

latter alternative.—Those who know me in private life are, I am afraid, too well aware how little I am versed in questions either of arithmetic or of economy, not to have been as much surprised, as the Hon. Gentleman professes himself to be gratified, at the proficiency in figures which is displayed in the Papers before the House; particularly in that laboured Despatch of mine of the 30th of May, 1815.—In truth, I availed myself, for the purpose of those statements and calculations, of the aid of persons much more conversant with such matters than I can pretend to be. I beg the Hon. Gentleman also to understand that I do not profess, in these accounts, to state my *whole* expenditure at Lisbon, but only my expenditure of *public* money.

Sir, the expenditure of Sir Charles Stuart's Mission for the two years, 1812-13, and 1813-14, and that of the interval between the conclusion of Sir Charles Stuart's Mission and my appointment, can hardly be denied to justify the nominal amount of the allowances assigned to me. But that *nominal* amount and the *real effective* value were very different indeed. For my actual *expenditure* (as distinguished from nominal *receipt*—or rather nominal *issue*), a fair but strict standard

of comparison is furnished by the Report of the Civil-List Committee of June, 1815. If it shall appear that my whole *actual* expenditure as *Ambassador*, tallied within a very trifle with the amount fixed by that Committee and sanctioned by the House for a *Minister* at Lisbon *of the second order*, I think it will not be imputed that I abused the discretion confided to me.

Assuredly I did not, on going out to Lisbon, anticipate the trial of this day; but I did, as has been seen, dread and deprecate any unlimited pecuniary discretion. It has been shewn how anxious I was to have the limits of my expenditure defined: and within those limits, whatever they might be, I resolved to restrict myself.

My *nominal* allowances were, as I have said, and as appears from the papers upon the table*—

Salary	£8,200
Extraordinaries, not to exceed	6,000
Total	£14,200

Of this amount of Extraordinaries I drew only for three-fourths, or 4,500*l.* I received, (like every other Minister of whatever rank) the sum of 1,500*l.* for Outfit. If that sum be taken as replacing the 1,500*l.* Extraordinaries which I

* Appendix, I. No. 2.

declined to draw, the result of Salary, Extraordinaries, and Outfit for that *one* year, (*Outfit* could only be a charge on the *first* year,) is, as above, 14,200*l.* I had Plate, like other Ambassadors and Envoys Extraordinary &c., but upon the scale of an Envoy.

Having no rule or experience to guide me, all that I could determine was to consider the established recognized amount of the *Salary* as the limit of my public expenditure; and to draw for no more *Extraordinaries* than should make up the *nominal Salary* of 8,200*l.* to that *effective* amount. Had therefore that Salary been paid free from deductions at home, and without loss on the exchange and on the conversion into Portuguese money—I should not have drawn for one shilling of Extraordinaries for my Expenses at Lisbon. But the case was very different. This *nominal* Salarywas liable to deductions amounting to no less than about sixteen per cent. in England, which reduced it from 8,200*l.* to about 6,900*l.*; and this latter sum again to a loss of something more than twelve per cent. in its transit and conversion, reducing it from 6,900*l.* to somewhere between 6,100*l.* and 6,000*l.*

This statement applies to the first three quarters of the year, ending the 5th of July, 1815. In July, I received the Report of the Civil-List Committee, to which I have so often had occasion to refer. From that time, therefore, I had—what I had always wished—a positive written public rule, not laid down indeed for my Mission, but which I might safely take for my guide. By the Civil-List Report, the Minister to Portugal was considered prospectively on the footing not of an Ambassador, but of an Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. To that Minister of the second order the Report assigned a salary of 8,000*l.* a year. It further recommended that all sums for Foreign Missions should be paid free of all deductions except the property-tax; thus relieving the issues of Salary from all the established legal defalcations at home, amounting to about six per cent., (in addition to the property-tax,) and from all losses by Exchange, or otherwise, in the transmission abroad. At the same time, the allowance for Outfit,—which had been hitherto in all cases, and for all ranks, only 1,500*l.*—a sum which is stated by the Report not to be sufficient to cover above one-third or one-fourth of

the real expense, was raised to 4,000*l.*; and an annual allowance of 500*l.* was given for house-rent. These several arrangements are to be found in pp. 47 and 48, of the Civil-List Report, to which I beg the Gentlemen who do me the honour to watch what I am saying, to refer. Deducting 800*l.* the property-tax, from the *Salary* of 8,000*l.* these issues to the new *Envoy* would amount to 11,700*l.* nett for the *first* year; and to 7,700*l.* nett for every subsequent year.—And this exclusive of Plate, for which the Report makes a special provision.

When I received the copy of this Report, I instantly determined that, so long as the Mission continued in my hands, I would limit myself strictly to the amount specified in it. For the *last* quarter, therefore, (from July the 5th to October 10th, 1815), I conformed to the new scale of ordinary allowances, and received only 1,800*l.* *nett*,—without any Extraordinaries whatever. The Exchange was now, in consequence of the termination of the war, become so favourable as in a great measure to counteract the loss upon the paper-money, which continued to be about 7 per cent. The result of this counteraction was, that the loss

upon 1,800*l.* by the Exchange and paper-money jointly, which three months before would have been about 220*l.*, was now only about 70*l.*

Of the 6,000*l.* Extraordinaries which I had liberty to draw, I drew only for so much as was sufficient,—

First to replace the deductions on 6,150*l.* being three Quarters of *nominal* Salary at the *old* rate of 8,200*l.* *(gross)*, and on 1,800*l.* one quarter at the *new* rate of 7,200*l.* *(nett)*;

Secondly, to make up the old allowance for Outfit, viz. 1,500*l.* to the sum of 4,000*l.* specifically allowed by the Committee.—And not one farthing more, so help me God!

So scrupulously did I adhere to these limits, (which seemed to me to have been formed on a clear principle and which had the sanction of the House of Commons,) that finding that my Agent had drawn, for the last Quarter, a sum of 1,500*l.* as *Extraordinaries*, (at the rate of the 6,000*l.* originally allowed to me,) I directed him to return that sum to the Treasury*: and I declare, on my conscience, that when I gave this direction, I had no more expectation that the

* Appendix, I. No. 11.

transaction would ever be known to any one except to my Agent,—to my Right Hon. Friend* near me, whom I requested to see my direction executed—to my Noble Friend†, (whose permission was necessary,)—and to the Treasury, (to which the return was made,)—I had no more expectation that I should ever have to state this transaction privately or publicly in vindication of my character,—than I had apprehension that on such grounds my character would ever be assailed.

It is undoubtedly still open to the Hon. Gentlemen who are the framers and supporters of the impeachment against me, to recur to the charge that the Mission to Lisbon was unnecessary; to find fault, if they please, with my personal conduct in accepting it (of which a word by-and-by); and to censure the mode in which I may have discharged the duties of it: but as to pecuniary imputation, I stand upon a rock.—I stand upon the authority of a Committee of this House, appointed long after my Embassy was established and endowed; and not merely approving by retrospect the amount of its actual endowment; but recommending prospectively the same endowment for a Mission of a lower character. Before that

* Mr. Huskisson. † Lord Castlereagh.

Report was known to me,—with the power to go to a certain extent of expense, I restrained myself within that extent, to limits narrowed by my own sense of what was right. As soon as I had the authority of that Report to guide me, I adhered to it voluntarily and strictly, living as an Ambassador within the allowances assigned for an Envoy. To other allegations of misconduct, political or prudential, I may be obnoxious;—but surely no fair adversary, after this exposition, will impute to my Embassy either a wasteful prodigality on the part of the Government, or a corrupt rapacity on mine.

I am afraid I have already wearied the House with figures: but there is another calculation, of which the result is so striking, that I cannot help requesting of the House to allow me to state it to them. Its elements are few, and the process short and simple. I particularly request attention to it from the Right Hon. Gentleman * who sits opposite to me,—whose skill in these matters peculiarly qualifies him to detect any error in the statement.

The Report of the Committee on the Civil-List

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* Mr. Tierney.

fixes the Salary of the Lisbon *Envoy* at 8,000*l.*, to be reduced by the deduction of the property-tax to 7,200*l.* This sum of 7,200*l.* was to be received *nett* at Lisbon, free from all other deductions at home and from loss by Exchange and conversion abroad. Sir, I desired a person far better skilled in calculations than I am, to make out for me how much must have been received *nett* from the Treasury *here*, to produce 7,200*l. nett*, in *Lisbon*, during the year 1814-15 ?—The following is the statement of my arithmetician.

The first addition to be made is that of the amount necessary to cover the average loss of something more than 12 per cent, by Exchange and paper money: this would be about £ 980
which being added to 7,200

gives £8,180

as the sum necessary to have been received *nett* in England, in order to produce 7,200*l. nett* in Lisbon.

But, again; how much would it have been necessary for the Treasury to issue *gross* to produce (on the footing on which my salary was issued) 8,180*l. nett* in England ?—The deductions at the Exchequer, I have shewn, amounted

to about 16 per cent., the property-tax included. The sum necessary to cover these deductions, would be about £1,556
which, added to 8,180

shews, that the *gross* issue at the Treasury must have been about £9,736
Add to this sum the allowance for Outfit.. 4,000
Add the allowance for House-rent (to which by the way might be added 12 per cent. for loss on Exchange, &c.) 500
And the *gross nominal* issues at the Treasury to meet the recommendation of the Committee, for the first year of the new Envoy, must have been £14,236

Does not the very *sound* of this sum carry conviction,—and I could almost hope compunction,—to the bosoms of my accusers?—Does it not excite in the minds of all impartial men, an indignant recollection of the arts and the clamours, by which, during two years and a half, I have been stigmatized to the Country as an instance of unexampled waste,—as an insatiable pillager of the Exchequer?

Sir, of the pecuniary charge I trust that

I may here take my leave. After my own vindication however (which must on every account be nearest to my heart), I confess, I am most anxious to put the well-intentioned part of the Nation on their guard against those exaggerations for mischievous purposes, by which public men are run down. If the result of this night shall warn them not to be too easily misled into the belief of monstrous and improbable corruptions, I cannot say that I shall not still regret the calumnies with which I have been overwhelmed,—but I shall be in some degree rewarded and consoled for them.

I have thus disposed of the two main heads of accusation. I have shewn that there was a sincere and well-grounded belief in the return of the Prince Regent of Portugal to Europe: and I have shewn that the cost of the Embassy appointed to receive him on his return was not only not extravagant, but that according to every test by which expenditure can be tried,—whether of contrast with what had gone before, or of comparison with what has been deliberately established for the future,—it was limited by a reasonable and scrupulous economy.

Some minor charges remain to be refuted.

I am accused of having held the Mission after all hope of executing the duty which I undertook to fulfil was abandoned. But, before I enter on this point, I am reminded that I am accused also of having assumed the Mission too soon. It is said that I assumed it in October, although the Prince of Brazil could not be expected in Europe for six months from that date. Now if there were any ground for supposing that the return was altogether a false pretence, the acceptance of the Embassy sooner or later would be of no consequence; the acceptance of it at all was a crime. But if the Prince Regent of Portugal was to come to Europe, there was fair probability that Sir John Beresford might have landed him at Lisbon in February. Sir John Beresford sailed from Portsmouth on the fifth of October. True, he was driven back to Plymouth after having been some days at sea. But—as to the length of the passage,—he *did* reach the Brazils in seven weeks from the date of his last sailing (that too with a convoy under his protection); and it was not only no improbable expectation, but it was the belief of Sir John Beresford himself, stated repeatedly to the Prince Regent of Portugal, that

from five to six weeks would be sufficient for the voyage from Rio de Janeiro. It is true, that the hypothesis was, that the Prince Regent would be ready to embark, and would have made all the preparations necessary for his depature, between the period of his writing for a squadron and its arrival. Such in fact was our expectation; and upon that supposition (as I have said before) the arrival at Lisbon of the Prince Regent himself would have been the first intelligence that would have been received there of his departure from Rio de Janeiro. I sailed in the beginning of November. I landed at Lisbon (I think) on the first of the following month. I had no more doubt of the impatience of the Portuguese Royal Family to return to Europe than I have that I am now addressing this House. I consequently reckoned upon their arrival in Lisbon almost as soon after my own as I could conveniently be prepared to receive them. In the month of February, I well remember, we used to be looking out at Lisbon, at every favourable turn of the wind, for the arrival of Sir John Beresford with his Royal passengers, in the Tagus. The only period therefore, during which I can be accused of receiving a salary without executing a

public duty, is that between the date of my appointment and my sailing for Lisbon,—a period of about three weeks. Surely this then is a charge of minute and petty captiousness. It is said that Nature abhors a *vacuum*; and I believe it may be equally said that an Exchequer Quarter abhors a fraction. My salary was reckoned from the 10th of October, the Quarter-day which preceded by about ten days my taking leave at Carlton House;—and which preceded my actual departure (as I have said) by about three weeks. Of the scores or hundreds of Missions which have gone out from this country for the last century, I very much doubt whether *one* could be found whose allowances had begun to run from so short a period before its departure. If this, Sir, be not a sufficient defence on such a matter, I can only give myself up to the mercy of the House, with a frank expression of my regret that I was gazetted three weeks too soon.

As to retaining my Office too long,—I have already answered to this point incidentally, but I must briefly answer to it again here in its proper order. The first loose intimations of a doubt of the return of the Prince Regent to his European dominions arrived in England in the month of

March. They reached me at Lisbon on the 9th of April. On the 10th of April I wrote to the Foreign Office, tendering my resignation. I was desired to continue in the exercise of my functions; and from that moment the Mission entirely changed its character. I was no longer the pageant Ambassador to a non-forthcoming Sovereign. The war had broken out, with the ominous re-appearance of Buonaparte: and who was there in this Country, or in Europe, that ventured to predict its speedy, its miraculous termination? Who could presume to say what might be its course; or what the extent of effort required to give effect to its operations? Henceforth, therefore, I filled, (whether worthily or not, is another question,) a situation of business, at a not insignificant post, and at a most eventful crisis. If *I* had not been on the spot, another must have been appointed,—a Minister *of the second order,* if you please,—but even if so, with all the allowances and expenses incident to a Minister of the second order at Lisbon,—which I have already shewn to be, according to the recommendation of the Civil List Report, substantially the same as mine. Henceforth, therefore, I did not add one farthing to the

unavoidable expenses of the Country. It may be alleged, that a more able individual might have been found to discharge the duties of the Mission; and that I did wrong in continuing to do what others might have done better;—but there is not a shadow of pretence for affirming that my continuance at Lisbon laid any burden upon the Public, or that any saving could have been effected by the acceptance of my resignation on the 10th of April.

It is obvious that in the refusal to accept my resignation, I was wholly passive; but neither does my Noble Friend require any justification for having recommended to the Prince Regent to decline accepting it. My Noble Friend is sufficiently justified by the case itself, and by his subsequent conduct. For no sooner was the battle of Waterloo fought, and the war thus happily ended, (almost as soon as begun), than my Noble Friend signified to me His Royal Highness's acceptance of the resignation which had been before declined. It is true, that it was not until three months after this notification that I was finally relieved from the Mission. Amidst the important negotiations in which my Noble Friend was then engaged, he appears to have forgotten that he had not appointed any

one to receive the business and correspondence of the Lisbon Mission, out of my hands. Portugal and myself had (no wonder) sunk into insignificance and oblivion; and up to the beginning of August, no successor to me was appointed.—Did I think this a lucky chance? Did I go on quietly to enjoy the advantage of this oblivion?—No. After about a month had elapsed without hearing any thing from the Foreign Office, I wrote to my Noble Friend, to remind him of my existence: and, apprehending him to be—as he in fact was—absent from England, I wrote by the same packet a private letter to Lord Bathurst, begging leave,—in case any difficulty should have occurred in the nomination of a successor,—to recommend Mr. Croft (whom I have already mentioned as having been first introduced to me by my Noble Friend,) as a person perfectly competent to act as Chargé d'Affaires; and offering, at the same time, the aid of my unofficial advice, so long as I should remain (which I intended to do through the winter) in Portugal. I desire to know if this conduct can be characterized as a clinging to my Office?—or whether my pertinacity in adhering to it was more than exactly on a par with my eagerness in seeking it?

Perhps, Sir, I might now sit down perfectly satisfied with having cleared the integrity of my conduct; and, perhaps, with a feeling rather of gratitude than of hostility towards those who, by manfully giving a distinct and substantive shape to their allegations, have afforded me an opportunity of refuting them. But I cannot pass by the taunts of the Hon. Baronet, and the grave admonitions of the Hon. Mover of the question, without assuring them, that so long as I possess in my own breast the consciousness of integrity, such assailments, whether taunting or monitory, will excite in it no emotion warmer than contempt. I must above all things assure the Hon. Baronet, that no attempt to impeach my character and to degrade me (as he flattered himself this proceeding might do) in that estimation with this House which constitutes all that is valuable and all that is efficient in a public man,—no such attempt, I say, will cause me to lower my voice one key, or to abate one jot of my exertions, in opposing and exposing those doctrines of which the Hon. Baronet is the representative and the champion. Let not the Hon. Baronet flatter himself with any such result from this attack upon my re-

putation. Let him not flatter himself with the hope of such a result from his asperity to-night, or from his menaces for the future. If I am satisfied to have done right, for the peace of my own conscience,—I am also glad to have made that right apparent, mainly because I know how necessary are the good opinion and the favouring attention of this House, to enable me to exert myself successfully for the defeat of those projects which the Hon. Baronet has at heart, and which, I verily believe, would bring this Country to ruin. The Hon. Baronet has spoken out: and the only sentiment with which I am inspired by the bitterness of his declared enmity, and by the burst of his anticipated triumph, is that of a pride—I hope an honest and pardonable pride,—at the proof which he has thus unintentionally afforded of the reasons to which I am indebted for his hostility.—It is because I am held in hatred and in fear by those who share the Hon. Baronet's opinions, that by them I have been sought to be destroyed. I have been sought to be destroyed, because I have declared myself—(with what effect it becomes not me to say, but with all my heart and soul)—against schemes, which if un-

checked, would bring destruction upon those hallowed institutions by which the mixed and free Government of this great kingdom is upholden, and from which the practical blessings of our Constitution are derived.

Sir, I thus dismiss all that part of the charges which, if substantiated, would have established against me the guilt of criminality or of culpable misconduct. But I wish to leave nothing unnoticed, whether of charge or of insinuation,—whether conveying the imputation of positive guilt, or only implying discredit and disparagement.

It is made matter of accusation and reproach against me that I have accepted Office with my Noble Friend*, who sits beside me,—between whom and myself it is assumed that our former differences had placed an impassable barrier.—First,—from what quarter comes this reproach and accusation? From a bench, on which I do not see any two neighbours who have not differed from each other,—and that within short memory too,—much more essentially than myself and my Noble Friend. But it is insinuated that the differences between my Noble Friend

* Lord Castlereagh.

and myself were *of a sort* which precluded reconciliation!—Since when have such matters become topics of parliamentary discussion? Since when has it been the practice of this House to take cognizance of the disagreements of individuals, and to indulge in such animadversions on the most delicate topics of personal conduct as in private society no Gentleman would venture to hazard? Since when, I say, has this practice commenced? and how far is it to be carried?—I know of no precedent for it. I know of no authority.—It is not for my own sake, but for the sake of this House, that I protest against it; for, if this practice be permitted, our discussions must inevitably sink into grosser personalities than have disgraced the meetings of Palace-Yard and of Spa-Fields.

The Hon. Baronet is entirely mistaken as to what he supposes me to have addressed to my Constituents at Liverpool in 1812. Nothing that I then said was intended to convey, or did convey, the notion that I was precluded by any feeling, or (in my own judgment) by any principle, from acting in Office with my Noble Friend. I had declared the directly contrary opinion some months before, in a correspondence respecting the formation of an Administration, which the dis-

cussions of those times brought before the public, and which is now upon record. What is *not* publicly recorded is, that some time after those discussions had closed, but six or eight weeks before my Election at Liverpool, other negotiations, which had for their object my return to Office, had taken place; amongst the proposed arrangements of which, my Noble Friend—with a manliness and generosity which I hope I felt as they deserved—had voluntarily tendered to my acceptance the seals of the Office which he now holds. Other reasons induced me to decline that tender. I might be right or wrong in my view of those reasons. One among them was, that I was at that time embarrassed with respect to a most important question (the discussion of which is now fixed for no distant day) by pledges which I could best hope to redeem with unquestioned fidelity and honour, by remaining out of Office till I had redeemed them. But what would be thought of me—what should I deserve to be thought of by any liberal mind—if, after such a transaction as I have described, I could ever pause for a moment, to consider in what order with respect to each other my Noble Friend and I should march towards our common objects in the service of the Country?—In that transaction, any feelings

which had previously separated my Noble Friend and myself were buried for ever. The very memory of them was effaced from our minds:—nor can I compliment the good taste of those who would call them up from oblivion; surely not with the vain hope of exasperating differences anew, but with the purpose of making a reconcilement now of five years' standing, a subject of suspicion, taunt and obloquy.

What I have said, Sir, is, I hope, a sufficient comment upon the notable discovery that I accepted public employment not *with*, but *under*, my Noble Friend. This paltry distinction, I can assure those who are so vain of it, occasions me not the slightest uneasiness. When Lord Pembroke went out to Vienna, and the Marquis Wellesley to Spain, during (or *under*, if you will) *my* administration of the Foreign Department,—had *I* the ridiculous vanity to fancy that these distinguished Noblemen acted *under* me, in any sense of degrading subordination? Or is it imagined that when the Duke of Wellington undertook his Mission to Paris, my Noble Friend, conceived that *he* was therefore entitled to claim a pre-eminence over the deliverer of Europe?—They know little, Sir, of the spirit of our Constitution,—they are very ill acquainted with the duties that it im-

poses, and the privileges that it confers,—who are not aware, that in whatever station a man may be called upon to serve his Sovereign and his Country, there is among Statesmen, co-operating honestly for the public good, a real substantive equality which no mere official arrangement can either create or destroy;—they—who are yet to learn, that in a free Country like ours, it is for the Man to dignify the Office, not for the Office to dignify the Man.

Sir, I have now done. I have humbly to apologize to the House for having trespassed upon them so long, and to thank them for their indulgent attention. The manner in which I have been heard by the House, has been such as satisfies me that they justly and kindly considered how much I had at stake on this day. If I have succeeded, (as my conscience tells me that I must have done,) in refuting the charges brought against me, I have not spoken in vain; and you, Sir, will not regret having listened to me. If I have not succeeded,—if the House shall be of opinion that any stain remains upon my character,—then indeed, Sir, have I troubled you too long;—but I have troubled you for the last time.

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APPENDIX.

I.

PAPERS RESPECTING THE MISSION TO LISBON, PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, 12th MARCH, 1817.

No. 1.—*Extract of a Despatch from Lord Strangford to Lord Castlereagh; dated Rio de Janeiro, June* 21, 1814.

THE glorious events which have given peace and independence to Europe, have revived in the mind of the Prince of Brazil those eager desires to revisit his native country, which had been for a time suppressed.

His Royal Highness has done me the honour to state his anxious hope that Great Britain will facilitate the completion of his wishes upon this subject; and that he may return to Portugal under the same protection as that under which he left it.

No. 2.—*Copy of a Despatch from Earl Bathurst to His Majesty's Ambassador at Lisbon.*

SIR, *Foreign Office, October* 31, 1814.

THERE has been a large unavoidable excess in the Extraordinaries of the two Peninsula Missions during late years; and though the causes of that excess have either in a great measure ceased, or are in a course of diminution, it would hardly be possible at once to reduce the expenses of either Mission altogether within the bounds which it may be proper permanently to assign to them, especially as in Portugal the return of the Court must of itself create occasion for an extraordinary expenditure.

On these grounds, and at the same time to relieve you as far as possible from the responsibility of an indefinite extent of Extraordinaries, it has been thought right, while your re-

gular appointments are fixed (like those of Madrid) on the lower scale of Ambassadorial appointments, at 8,200*l.* per annum, to specify the sum of 6,000*l.* as that to which it is hoped that you may be able to limit the extraordinary disbursements of the ensuing year. By the end of the year, it may probably be practicable to form an estimate of the amount of the necessary expenditure of the British Embassies in the Peninsula, which may serve as a rule in fixing their appointments on an adequate permanent footing.

I am, &c.

(Signed) BATHURST.

To his Excellency
The Right Honourable George Canning,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 3.—*Copy of a Despatch from Mr. Canning to Viscount Castlereagh.*

MY LORD, *Lisbon, April* 10, 1815.

BY the mails which came in yesterday, I learn (though not officially) that the accounts received in England from Rio de Janeiro, since Admiral Sir John Beresford's arrival there, create a doubt of the Prince Regent of Portugal's present intention to return to his European dominions.

Nothing has been received here from the Brazils, which indicates any such change in his Royal Highness's intention. But should any impediments have been interposed to delay the execution of it until the intelligence of the late astonishing and afflicting revolution in the state of Europe shall reach Rio de Janeiro, it is possible that the receipt of that intelligence may determine his Royal Highness to remain there for the present.

In that case, or in the event of your Lordship's receiving such positive accounts as satisfy your Lordship's mind that such a determination has been taken by the Prince Regent of Portugal, I have to request your Lordship to lay at the feet of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent my humble resignation of the commission with which he was graciously pleased to honour me, in contemplation of the Prince Regent of Portugal's return.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

To the Lord Viscount Castlereagh,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 4.—*Copy of a Despatch from Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Canning.*

Foreign Office, May 11, 1815.

SIR,

YOUR Despatch of April 10, tendering your conditional resignation of the Embassy to Lisbon, in the event of the Prince Regent of Portugal's intention to return to Europe being abandoned, has been laid before the Prince Regent.

His Royal Highness is fully sensible of the zeal for his service which induced your Excellency to undertake this Mission, and of those considerations which have determined you to desire to relinquish it.

Notwithstanding there has been for some time strong reason to suppose that the Prince Regent of Portugal had taken his determination to remain for the present at the Brazils, yet I have not hitherto considered that decision to be so unequivocally made, as to justify my making any official communication of the same to your Excellency.

That such is now the resolution of His Royal Highness, the mail of yesterday, from Rio Janeiro, seems to place beyond the reach of doubt. In the present state of the public business, I hope, however, I shall not transgress the spirit of your Excellency's wishes, by requesting that the period of your resignation may be suspended till you are enabled to bring the Regency to a decision on the military concert to be established with the Allies. This course will also admit of the return home of Admiral Sir J. Beresford, which I should wish to await, before the continuance of the Prince Regent of Portugal at the Brazils shall be considered as absolutely decided; in which case, I shall not feel myself further authorized to oppose any obstacle to a compliance with the desire which has been conveyed on the part of your Excellency to the Prince Regent, and which His Royal Highness was pleased to receive in the most gracious manner.

I have, &c.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

To His Excellency
The Right Hon. George Canning.

No. 5.—*Extract of a Despatch from Mr. Canning to Lord Castlereagh.*

Lisbon, May 26, 1815.

I HAVE to acknowledge the honour of your Lordship's Despatch, No. 20; and to request your Lordship to lay at the feet of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent my humble thanks for His Royal Highness's gracious and kind interpretation, as well of the grounds on which I originally accepted this Mission, as of those on which I have tendered my eventual resignation of it.

The last Despatches from the Rio, dated only in March, are (as I am informed) entirely silent upon the Prince Regent's return; and I really believe that nothing is known here of his intentions.

In reply to the other part of your Lordship's Despatch, it would not become me to say more than that, having put my resignation entirely into your Lordship's hands, I have no further anxiety on that subject; but that, so long as my services here are thought useful by the Prince Regent, they are absolutely at his Royal Highness's command.

No. 6.—*Extract of a Despatch from Mr. Canning to Lord Castlereagh.*

Lisbon, May 30, 1815.

IN contemplation of the eventual termination of my Mission, I feel it my duty to execute, as well as I can, that part of the instructions of Lord Bathurst's Despatch of October last, which relates to the scale of appointments at which this Mission might be permanently and adequately settled.

In doing this I shall have occasion to refute the injurious exaggerations which I find to have been propagated in England, respecting my allowances: exaggerations and misrepresentations which your Lordship will give me credit for disdaining, as far as they regard me personally; but of which it is nevertheless natural, on my own account, as well as just to the Government at home, that I should leave a recorded refutation.

When I accepted this Mission, it was impossible that, with the printed accounts of the Civil List lying on the table of the House of Commons, I should not advert to what had been the scale of its expenditure during the preceding years.

Seeing that, in the period from the 5th of April, 1812, to the 5th of April, 1814 (the date to whicht he accounts come down), that expenditnre was stated, in salary and extraordinary allowances, at about 32,000*l.* for the first year, and at about 28,000*l.* for the second; it would have been madness to succeed to a situation in which such an expenditure had been found necessary, without some understanding as to the limits to which, if necessary, my expenditure might go, and within which it was, at all events, to be confined.

The interval which had elapsed was too short to enable any one to form a judgment as to what might be the practicable reduction of expenditure; and as, with the exception of the ten days (or thereabouts) which Mr. Sydenham spent here, the Mission was, during that interval, in the hands of a Chargé d'Affaires, no fair inference could be drawn from it in respect to the fit establishment of the Mission on a permanent scale.

The sum fixed as that which my extraordinary expenditure should not exceed, was in no degree of my suggestion. I resolved, whatever it might be, either to confine my expenses within it, or, if I found that to be impracticable, to resign the Mission forthwith.

I found, as I expected, on my arrival here, that the footing on which the British Mission had been accustomed to stand, could not be suddenly lowered without impairing the whole nature of its relation with the Government.

In this view the rank of Ambassador, while it could make no practical difference in expenses, of which the salary (whether as Ambassador or as Envoy) supplied only a part, was politically important, as counterbalancing the positive loss of rank and influence, which would otherwise have been occasioned by the British Minister's being no longer a member of the Regency.

Your Lordship may perhaps apprehend, that, after this preface, I am about to bequeath to you an opinion in favour of some very exorbitant endowment for maintaining the splendour of the British embassy at Lisbon.

And you will perhaps be surprised when I follow it up by stating, that, supposing an adequate allowance made for

out-fit, the old Ambassadorial appointments of 8,200*l.* per annum, exclusive of the usual recognized contingencies (which form no part of the expenses of the Minister) would be adequate to the support of the Mission; on condition—

That those appointments are paid free of deductions at home; and (what is most important at this place)—

That they are paid free from loss on exchange, and on depreciation of paper here.

When the exchange is at par (67½), the dollar is at 4*s.* 6*d.*; when the exchange is at 75, the dollar costs 5*s.*; its value in expenditure here remaining in both cases the same.

The exchange is now 72½, it has been as high as 74, and probably, as the war goes on, will rise much higher*.

After the loss on exchange comes that upon the paper money.

A bill upon England for 100*l.* should produce *at par* 444 dollars *in coin*. With the exchange at 75, it would produce about 400. This is the first loss.

But one-half, viz. 200 out of 400, are paid *in paper*; which paper bears a discount of 14, 15, 16, or (as last week) of 20 per cent. or more. Taking it only at 16, there is another loss of 32 dollars out of 200; and the produce of the 100*l.* at 75, therefore, would be only 368 dollars instead of 444; of which the value to expend would be about 83*l.*

The paper thus obliged to be taken can only be gotten rid of, in most of the ordinary details of common expenditure, at the discount which it bears.

The law enjoins its acceptance *at par*, but custom is stronger than the law.

By these successive processes, the nominal appointments of 8,200*l.*, first reduced by deductions in England to 6,914*l.*, would be farther reduced in their transfer from England hither by about 7 or 8 per cent. at the *present* rate of exchange, to between 6,300*l.* and 6,400*l.*; and further, in their conversion into Portuguese money, to something about 5,800*l.*

There remains to speak of the first supposition, with which I qualify my opinion of the probable sufficiency of

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* I take the liberty of enclosing to your Lordship some Lisbon Gazettes, in which are marked the variations of exchange, and of the discount on paper money.

the old Ambassadorial allowances; I mean the sufficiency of equipage money for outfit: a consideration applying with peculiar force to this country, and (I suppose) to Spain.

In my own case, I find by my agent's accounts (which I received by the last packet) that my out-fit has amounted to something more than 3,200*l.*, in addition, I do assure your Lordship, to no inconsiderable a portion of my own private funds. To this is added, for fees at different offices, Custom-house charges, insurance, &c. &c., about 800*l.*; together about 4,000*l.*

The allowance of equipage-money is 1,500*l.* with some deductions.

The difference (something above 2,500*l.*) absorbs, within a trifle, one half of the aggregate amount of the *ordinary* appointments due to me for the three-quarters of the year ending the 5th of July.

Those appointments, nominally 8,200*l.* per annum, are (as I have stated) reduced by deductions in England to 6,914*l.*; of which the three-fourths amount to 5,186*l.*; of this sum about 2,600*l.* remained to be remitted to me here, subject, in its remittance, to the loss on exchange, and, in its conversion here, to the loss on the paper.

Under these circumstances it is that I shall, up to the 5th of July, have drawn upon my agent, under the instructions in Lord Bathurst's Despatch of October last, for sums amounting to 4,000*l.* on account of Extraordinaries. I may possibly, at the winding up of my Mission, have occasion to draw for 500*l.* more.

If I shall with this aid have been enabled to carry on the Mission to the end of the three-quarters of the year, I am clearly warranted in saying, that, with an allowance for outfit adequate to its purpose, and with the *ordinary* allowances, paid free from deductions in England, and from loss on exchange and conversion here, I should not have had occasion to draw *at all* upon the allowance for *extraordinary* expenditure.

No. 7.—*Extract of a Despatch from Lord Castlereagh to Mr. Canning.*

Foreign Office, June 22, 1815.

His Royal Highness's Government being now in possession of the final determination of the Prince Regent of Portugal not to avail himself of the opportunity which was offered to him of returning to his European dominions, and the application which your Excellency was instructed to make to the Regency of Portugal, for the employment of a part of the Portuguese armies on the Continent, having been deferred to an indefinite period, I have not thought it expedient any longer to delay to lay before before His Royal Highness your Excellency's resignation of your Embassy at Lisbon ; and I am accordingly commanded by the Prince Regent to acquaint you that he has been graciously pleased to accept of the same, and that you are consequently at liberty to terminate your Mission when most agreeable to yourself. Your letters of recall will be forwarded to you by the packet of next week, when I shall transmit to you His Royal Highness's commands with respect to the person to whom you will deliver over the duties of the Mission, in the event of Mr. Casamajor's having returned home.

No. 8.—*Extract of a Despatch from Mr. Canning to Lord Castlereagh.*

Lisbon, August 11, 1815.

IMMEDIATELY upon the receipt of your Lordship's Despatch, No. 27, I communicated its contents verbally to Don Mig. Per. Forjaz; deferring the official notification of them till I should receive my letters of recall, and should be apprized of your Lordship's determination as to the person into whose hands I am to give over the archives of the Mission.

No. 9.—*Copy of a Despatch from Lord Bathurst to Mr. Canning.*

Foreign Office, September 12, 1815.

SIR,

IN reference to your Excellency's Despatch of the 11th August, I have now the honour to enclose to you your letters of recall, together with a letter of credential to the Portuguese Secretary of State, introducing Mr. Croft as His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires.

Upon your taking leave of the Governors of the kingdom of Portugal, your Excellency will present Mr. Croft to them as His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires appointed to reside in Lisbon, for the purpose of carrying on the ordinary intercourse between the two Governments; leaving with that gentleman the official correspondence, with the ciphers and deciphers in your Excellency's possession, and such instructions for the guidance of his conduct as the existing circumstances may seem to you to require.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) BATHURST.

His Excellency
The Right Hon. George Canning,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 10.—*Extract of a Despatch from Mr. Canning to Lord Castlereagh.*

Lisbon, October 10, 1815.

I HAVE delivered to his Excellency Don Mig. Per. Forjaz the letter addressed to him by Lord Bathurst, announcing the appointment of Mr. Croft as His Majesty's Chargé d'Affaires. I, at the same time, introduced Mr. Croft in that character to M. de Forjaz; I have likewise introduced him personally to their Excellencies the Govevnors of the kingdom.

I have given over to Mr. Croft the correspondence and ciphers of the Mission. It does not occur to me that there are any points on which it is necessary for me to furnish him with written instructions for his conduct (perfectly acquainted as he is with the general course of the business), but I shall nevertheless be most happy at all times (so long as I remain in this country) to afford him any assistance in

my power on any points on which he may wish to have recourse to me.

No. 11.—*Extract of a Letter from Mr. Canning to Lord Castlereagh.*

Lisbon, January 10, 1816.

I FIND by a statement of my account with my Agent, which I received by the last packet, that he has inadvertently received from the Treasury on my account a sum of 1,500*l.* as *Extraordinaries* for the quarter from the 5th July to the 10th October. I say "inadvertently," because I am convinced that he would not designedly have acted against my instructions.

From the beginning of July, at which period I received your Lordship's notification of the final acceptance of my resignation, I considered it my duty, so long as the Mission remained in my hands, to confine myself strictly within the limits laid down in the Report of the Civil-List Committee*, nor have my drafts upon my Agent, for the quarter ending October 10th, exceeded that limitation.

I write by this Packet to my Agent, desiring him to set right the mistake which has been made in issuing as extraordinaries what I had no thought of drawing for as such, by either causing to be retained at the Treasury, to replace the sum of 1,500*l.* so improperly issued, the like sum out of the regular quarter's allowance of 2,000*l.*, due to me the 10th of October, if that quarter's allowance shall not yet have been issued; or by returning so much to the Treasury, if it has.

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*ALLOWANCES for the MISSION to LISBON, fixed by the Civil List Committee of 1815.

	Gross.	Nett.
	£.	£.
Salary to be paid free from loss on Exchange, and of all Deductions except Property-Tax	8,000	—
Deducting Property-Tax, £800.	.....	7,200
Allowance for House-Rent	500	500
		7,700
Do.....Outfit	4,000	4,000
£.	12,500	11,700

I subjoin also a Statement of my Receipts for the whole Year, by which your Lordship will see, that the Aggregate of the Expenditure of my Mission is about £. 250 less than the Estimate in my Despatch of May 30th, 1815; and that it exceeds only by about the same sum the Aggregate of the Allowances fixed prospectively by the Committee.

ALLOWANCES.	Gross.	Nett in England.	SPECIFICATION OF RECEIPTS.			Nett.
	£.	£.		£.		£.
Three Quarters of Old Salary of £ 8,206, per annum, to July 5th, 1815..	6,154	—	Three Quarters of old Ambassadorial Salary, to July 5th, 1815, £ 6,154, reduced in England to	5,185	Reduced by loss on Exchange, &c. &c. at an average of something more than 12 per cent. to about	4,560
Reduced by Taxes, and Deductions in England, to	.....	5,185	Drawn as Extraordinaries, to make up difference between nominal Issue and Nett Receipt of three Quarters' Salary	1,815		1,594
One Quarter's Salary, on new scale, to October 10, 1815	2,000	—	Total Receipt of Salary for three Quarters, to July 5th, 1815	.....	.....	6,154
Reduced by Property-Tax to	.....	1,800	One Quarter's Salary on new scale, to 10th October, 1815	1,800	at about 4 per cent. (the war being ended)	1,800
Allowance for Outfit	1,500	—	Allowance for loss on Exchange, &c. on this Quarter	74		
Producing	.....	1,437	Total Nett Receipt in Portugal, for four Quarters	.....	.....	7,954
Extraordinaries	4,500	—	Outfit and Charges in England, viz. Old Allowances..	1,437	.....	3,996
Producing	.....	4,448	Extraordinaries ..	2,559		
£.	14,154	12,870	£.	12,870	£.	11,950

II.

PAPERS PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS 26 AND 27 MARCH, 1817.

No. 1.—*Extract of a Letter from Thomas Sydenham, Esq. to William Hamilton, Esq. dated Lisbon, July 8th,* 1814:—*Received 22d July.*

——WHILE the Duke of Wellington was at Madrid, he spoke to me on the subject of my allowances at Lisbon; and he gave me the comfortable assurance of my being ruined unless Government allowed me something more than the usual Salary, diminished by the usual deductions in England, and the loss of exchange. He promised to mention the subject to Lord Castlereagh, and I have written to him to remind him of his promise. I find that Mr. Casamajor has been living in a very quiet retired way, with no suite to feed and lodge; and, by the examination of his books, I perceive that he does not live on less than 100*l.* a week.

No. 2.—*Copy of a Despatch from Viscount Castlereagh, to Thomas Sydenham, Esq. Foreign Office, July 18th,* 1814.

SIR,

I THINK it necessary, before I am informed of your arrival at Lisbon, to acquaint you that it is His Royal Highness's Commands, that, during your residence at the Court of Portugal, you confine your personal expenses within your ordinary allowances, as His Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotiary. I have directed Mr. Casamajor to lose no time in removing the Mission from the house of the Marquis de Pombal; and I cannot anticipate any public grounds for continuing the expenditure of His Majesty's servants at Lisbon on the scale on which it has been conducted during the continuance of the war in the Peninsula.

I am, &c.

(Signed) CASTLEREAGH.

Thomas Sydenham, Esq.
&c. &c. &c.

No. 3.—*Extract of a Despatch from Thomas Sydenham, Esq. to Viscount Castlereagh; dated*

Lisbon, 23d July, 1814.

"I AM extremely concerned to acquaint your Lordship that the state of my health will compel me to leave Lisbon, for the purpose of returning to England, without admitting of my waiting to receive from your Lordship a regular permission to that effect."

III.

PAPERS PRESENTED TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

APRIL 29 AND MAY 1, 1817.

No. 1.—*Account of the Salaries and Emoluments granted to Thomas Sydenham, Esquire, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of Portugal, in the Year* 1814.

	£.	s.	d.
Salary from 5th April to 10th October; being Six Months, at the rate of 5,200*l.* per annum	2,600	—	—
Equipage Money	1,500	—	—
Expenses of Journey from Paris to Madrid and Lisbon	1,105	10	6
Compensation for Losses incurred on being suddenly obliged to relinquish his Mission, on account of the dangerous state of his health	2,000	—	—

WILLIAM HAMILTON.

Foreign Office, April 29th, 1817.

No. 2.—*Extracts of a Despatch from Viscount Strangford to Viscount Castlereagh; dated Rio de Janeiro, February 20th,* 1814:—*Received April 24th,* 1814.

"I SHOULD fail in my duty, did I not earnestly recommend to the consideration of His Royal Highness's Government the speedy return to Europe of the Portuguese Royal Family.

"The Prince's own feelings, and those of every Member of His Family, are certainly in favour of this measure. Some degree of apprehension may, perhaps, operate upon the mind of the Prince himself, to prevent him from coming forward as eagerly as the other individuals of the Royal Family would wish; but this sentiment would be easily removed; and His Royal Highness has explicitly stated to me, that as soon as ever Great Britain declares that, his return to Portugal is necessary, he will accede to any intimation to that effect."

No. 3.—*Extract of a Despatch from Viscount Castlereagh to Viscount Strangford; dated Foreign Office, July 25th,* 1814.

"IT has given His Royal Highness great pleasure to observe, that the Prince Regent of Portugal was, at the date of his letter* of the 2d of April last, so far determined to return to his European dominions, as only to be waiting for the intelligence of the result of the successes of the Allied Powers, engaged in the late campaign against France.

"The intelligence of the capitulation of Paris, the fall of Buonaparte, the re-establishment of the two Houses of Bourbon on the Thrones of France and Spain, and the reduction of France within the limits of 1792, in virtue of the peace of Paris, signed on the 30th of May, cannot, His Royal Highness supposes, have failed to decide the Prince Regent of Portugal to hasten his preparations for his departure from Brazil.

"In contemplation of this decision, measures have already been taken here for preparing a squadron of His Majesty's

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* Received through the Portuguese Ambassador in London.

ships to assist in the conveyance of the Prince Regent of Portugal and his family to Europe; and the squadron intended for this purpose would before this time have sailed for the Coast of Brazil, had it not been for the expressions contained in the letter of the Prince Regent of Portugal, and in one of your despatches of the 20th February, which imply that circumstances might still prevent the Royal Family of Portugal from quitting the Brazils immediately on the arrival of the squadron.

"Under these circumstances it has been thought advisable not to send a British squadron out before the final intentions of the Prince Regent, with respect to the period of his departure, are more fully declared; but you may apprize His Royal Highness, that a squadron competent to the service, will be held in readiness, and despatched under the command of Sir John Beresford, brother of the Field-Marshal, to attend him to Europe, as soon as we receive your Lordship's reply to this despatch; or sooner, if it shall appear that His Royal Highness's departure is resolved on."

No. 4.—**Copy of a Despatch from Viscount Strangford to Viscount Castlereagh; dated Rio de Janeiro, June 21st, 1814:—Received August 26th, 1814.*

"MY LORD,

"THE glorious events which have given peace and independence to Europe have revived in the mind of the Prince of Brazil those eager desires to revisit his native country, which had been for a time suppressed.

"His Royal Highness has lately done me the honour to state his anxious hope that Great Britain will facilitate the completion of his wishes upon this subject, and that he may return to Portugal, under the same protection as that under which he left it. And His Royal Highness has, during the last week, intimated to me four or five times, as well publicly as privately, that, in case Great Britain should send a squadron of ships of war to this place, for the purpose of escorting His Royal Highness to Europe, it would be par-

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* An Extract of this Despatch has been already laid before the House of Commons.

ticularly and personally gratifying to His Royal Highness, that —— —— ——† should be selected for this service.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "STRANGFORD."

To Viscount Castlereagh.

No. 5.—*Copy of a Letter from Earl Bathurst to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty; dated Foreign Office, August 26th,* 1814.

"MY LORDS,

"THE latest advices from Rio de Janeiro having made known to His Royal Highness's Government that the Prince Regent of Portugal has expressed a wish to return to his dominions in Europe without delay, and under the same protection as that under which he left them; I am to convey to your Lordships the Prince Regent's Commands, that you do immediately give directions for a suitable squadron of His Majesty's ships to repair to Brazil, for the purpose of receiving on board His Royal Highness and the rest of the Royal Family of Portugal, and of conveying their Royal Highnesses to the Tagus.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) BATHURST."

To the Lords Commissioners
of the Admiralty,
&c. &c. &c.

No. 6.—*Copy of a Despatch from Earl Bathurst to Viscount Strangford, dated Foreign Office, September 28th,* 1814.

"MY LORD,

"IN reference to Viscount Castlereagh's Despatch of the 25th of July last, acquainting your Lordship, for the

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† The Officer referred to, had a command in the squadron which escorted the Prince of Brazil to Rio de Janeiro; but, previous to the receipt of this Despatch, Admiral Beresford had been actually appointed to the command of the ships intended to be sent to the Brazils for His Royal Highness's return, and his appointment had been announced to Lord Strangford.—See No. 3 of these Papers.

information of the Prince Regent of Portugal, that an adequate squadron of British ships of war would be appointed to proceed to Rio Janeiro, for the purpose of bringing His Royal Highness home to his European dominions, so soon as the Prince Regent might be desirous of returning to Lisbon; and it appearing, by your Lordship's Despatch of June 21st, that it is His Royal Highness's wish to avail himself of the earliest opportunity for that purpose; I have now the honour to apprize your Lordship, that a squadron consisting of two ships of the line and one frigate has been ordered to proceed forthwith on this service.

"Rear-Admiral Sir John Beresford, who has been appointed to the command of this squadron, will have the honour of delivering this Despatch to your Lordship; and I am to desire that you will afford to him every assistance which may lie in your power, towards the carrying into effect the objects of his Mission.

"I am also to direct that you will take this opportunity of renewing to the Prince Regent of Portugal the expression of His Royal Highness's sincere happiness in being enabled to contribute to His Royal Highness's personal resumption of his Government at Lisbon, and of his ardent wish that he may experience a safe and expeditious voyage.

"I am, &c.

(Signed) "BATHURST.

"To Viscount Strangford,
&c. &c. &c."

No. 7.—*Extract of a Despatch from Viscount Strangford to Viscount Castlereagh, dated Rio de Janeiro, Jan. 25th,* 1815:—*Received March 29th,* 1815.

"The result of my conferences with M. d'Aguiar, upon the subject of the return of the Prince of Brazil to Europe, has been an assurance on his side that he cannot in conscience undertake to advise the Prince to depart from Brazil during the present unsettled state of Europe; that, at a former period, there was not any doubt but that His Royal Highness had conceived the time to be fast approaching, or nearly arrived, when he might with propriety revisit Portugal; but that every circumstance now combined to con-

vince him that his residence here for some time longer, or at least till he should have placed this country in a perfect state of security, had become indispensable, and would fully justify his Royal Highness in still deferring the execution of a measure from which he would derive such indescribable satisfaction, and which had at all times occupied his thoughts and wishes. Much was then said of the gratitude which had been excited in His Royal Highness's mind, by the prompt attention of his Ally to these wishes; and the strongest hopes were expressed, that, at a future day, Great Britain would be equally ready and willing to give effect to them."

THE END.

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